

# IDENTITY AND DIASPORA ONLINE: A STUDY OF A CHINESE NETWORK IN NEW ZEALAND

by

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## **Abstract**

This thesis explores the distinctive formation of identity by Chinese diaspora on New Zealand's most popular Chinese portal site [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz). Following Gee's framework of discourse analysis, this study is projected to find out the distinctive language produced on Skykiwi and how this language is used to enact social actors' identities. In particular, different levels and dimensions of discourse analysis, including lexical and intertextual, linguistic and psychological, are deployed as strategic tools to analyze the selected online articles and discussion forum material. The findings of this qualitative research show that there is a distinct mode of hybridity in identity discourse on the site. This thesis argues that this hybrid identity is constructed by maintaining Chinese culture, and meanwhile using the Chinese meaning system to make sense of life in New Zealand so as to promote a partial integration. In this process, a virtual community is built on Skykiwi where the members show a strong sense of belonging and solidarity to the group. The study re-examines theories of transnationalism and hybridization, diaspora and media, sense-making and identity, centripetal and centrifugal forces of the internet, diasporic media and networks, imagined community, and particularly contributes to the knowledge of Chinese diasporic identity and virtual community on the internet.

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## Table of Content

Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgements .....	iii
Chapter 1. Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2. Literature Review .....	13
2. 1 Literature review on globalization, diaspora and media .....	14
2.1.1 Understanding diaspora in the context of globalization .....	15
2.1.2 Explorations of diaspora in the media culture .....	30
2.2 Literature review on diaspora and the internet .....	41
2.2.1 Understanding internet communication .....	42
2.2.2 Diaspora online .....	46
2.2.3 Chinese diaspora and media .....	55
2.2.4 Chinese diaspora and the internet.....	65
2.3 Discussions and implications.....	71
Chapter 3. Theoretical Approaches .....	73
3.1 Subjectivity and identity.....	73
3.2 Self and sense-making.....	77
3.2.1 Sense-making .....	77
3.2.2 Discursive production of the self.....	80
3.2.3 Self-narrative in discourse.....	82
3.3 Diasporic identity and the construction of Chinese identity.....	84
3.4 Debates on Chinese diasporic identity.....	86
3.5 Chapter Summary .....	90
Chapter 4. Method and Design of the Study .....	92
4.1 Discourse analysis as theory and method.....	92
4.2 Gee's framework of discourse analysis .....	95
4.2.1 General theories.....	95
4.2.2 Tools for discourse analysis .....	97
4.3 Socio-psychological perspective - positioning self in discourse .....	99
4.4 Perspectives from Fairclough's CDA paradigm - intertextuality .....	101
4.5 Research framework .....	103
4.5.1 Research question .....	104
4.5.2 Research design.....	105
Chapter 5. Starting Discourse Analysis - Three Sample Articles as a Pilot Stage .....	113
5.1 Key words of identity claims .....	114
5.1.1 Explicit identity claims.....	114
5.1.2 Implicit identity claims .....	116
5.2 Situated meanings of words.....	118
5.2.1 Naming and reference to social actors' identities.....	119
5.2.2 Making sense of the host country.....	120
5. 3 Conversion thinking.....	122
5.3.1 Presupposition .....	123
5.3.2 Pragmatics-repeated and stressed discourse.....	125

5. 4 Sentence construction - modality .....	126
5.5 Rhetorical strategies.....	129
5.5.1 Metaphor/simile .....	130
5.5.2 Parallelism .....	131
5.6 Intertextuality.....	131
5.6.1 Quotation .....	132
5.7 Chapter summary and conclusion.....	135
Chapter 6. Discourse Analysis of Selected Twenty Articles .....	138
6.1 Key words of identity claims .....	138
6.1.1 Explicit identity descriptions in the headlines, first paragraph and other parts ..	139
6.1.2 Implicit identity claims of authors as well as social actors.....	147
6.2 Key words with situated meanings .....	153
6.3 Making sense of New Zealand .....	157
6.4 Analyzing other linguistic details of structuring of propositions.....	161
6.4.1 Sentence construction - Modality .....	161
6.4.2 Conversion thinking.....	166
6.5 Combing propositions - Rhetoric strategy.....	170
6.5.1 Hyperbole.....	170
6.5.2 Metaphor .....	171
6.6 Intertextuality.....	174
6.6.1 Representations of social actors .....	175
6.6.2 Discursive achievements .....	182
6.7 Chapter summary and conclusion.....	187
Chapter 7. Forum Analysis.....	193
7.1 Retrospectives of relevant literature.....	193
7.2 Online community formation.....	195
7.2.1 Shared social practice and interest .....	197
7.2.2 Shared values .....	203
7.3 Characteristics of the Skykiwi virtual community .....	213
7.3.1 Exchanging information about the new society.....	214
7.3.2 Cultural superiority over local people .....	217
7.3.3 Mutual support and understanding .....	221
7.4 Awkward moments .....	224
7.5 Negotiated identity .....	231
7.6 Chapter summary and conclusion.....	236
Chapter 8. Conclusion .....	239
References.....	254
Appendix A.....	271
Appendix B. Data of online articles .....	273
Appendix C. Data of forum discussions.....	314

## Chapter 1. Introduction

Today diasporic networks are maintained, enhanced and proliferated over a more developed and diverse mediascape in which the internet becomes the main medium of “selective social interaction and symbolic belonging” (Castells, 2001: 37). The richness of internet communication tends to challenge national boundaries and political constraints, so as to facilitate transnational communities to overcome structural communication barriers. The internet thus tends to provide a platform of diversification for transnational diasporic networks, of negotiation between the different discourses of globalization, and of multiple performances of diasporic identity. Today many scholars agree that the internet plays manifold roles for diaspora: on the one hand, it will create further opportunities for diaspora in everyday life in their host countries thereby facilitating integration; on the other hand, the possibilities to stay in intensive contact with their home country through the internet can assist in the creation of a transnational way of living (Mitra, 1997a; Melkote & Liu, 2000; Hiller & Franz, 2004; Chan, 2006; Elias & Lemish, 2009). Within this context, for a number of diasporic and transnational groups with members in many countries, a new online cultural space is being formed and thereby shaping diaspora’s identity processes. My study looks at one space where these processes might be taking place - New Zealand’s most popular Chinese portal site <http://www.skykiwi.co.nz>, attempting to contribute to the diversity of the global communication and diaspora study.

### **A short introduction to [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz)**

[www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz) is one of the most popular New Zealand-based Chinese portal sites, established in 1999. The transnational characteristics of this diasporic network, in terms of its distinctive self-discourse, its relatively huge membership, and intra-

community communication drew my attention to the way Chinese diasporic identity was constructed and community built on the site. As a portal website, Skykiwi provides services through several major components:

- Skykiwi News: topics related to China, New Zealand and the globe
- Online forums: with sub-forums covering various themes (e.g. “the study in New Zealand community BBS”, which has become a highly popular online community for Chinese international students in New Zealand)
- Online trade and exchange
- Online Radio
- Love Stage (dating)
- Business directory (including yellow pages and advertisements)
- Skykiwi wireless

[\(http://www.skykiwi.co.nz/pages/about\\_us/html-en/\)](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz/pages/about_us/html-en/)

According to the Hit Wise New Zealand Online Performance Awards, Skykiwi ranked No.1 in 2006 and 2008 by visits in the News and Media - Community Directories and Guides Category compared to other New Zealand websites and No.3 by visits in the Computers and Internet - Net Community and Chat category compared to other New Zealand websites<sup>1</sup>. A more recent source (2012) from [alexa.com](http://www.alexa.com) (an authorized web information company affiliated to [amazon.com](http://www.amazon.com)) shows that the online visits of Skykiwi got the highest ranking among all Chinese websites based in New Zealand, and ranked 54<sup>th</sup> among all New Zealand websites<sup>2</sup>.

With well-designed web pages and pleasing layout, [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz) has operated an online community with over 90,000 registered members<sup>3</sup>. According to the statistics offered by Alexa, Skykiwi is visited more frequently by males who are in the age range 25-34, have no children, are graduate-school educated and browse this site

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<sup>1</sup> Source retrieved from <http://www.hitwise.co.nz/awards>, Hit Wise Top 10 awards 2006&2008, Sep., 2009.

<sup>2</sup> Source retrieved from <http://www.alexa.com/topsites/countries;2/NZ>, Feb., 2012.

<sup>3</sup> This is the statistic retrieved in Sep., 2009, from Weblizer, a third party site stats monitor software. But now the published number by the website is over 160,000 (statistic retrieved in May, 2012).

from work. Therefore, a relatively young Chinese online community is being formed via Skykiwi and searching the site seems to have become part of its participants' everyday routine, which provides me a rare research opportunity to study the relationship between online interactions and diasporic identity formation.

More importantly, the historical and political context of New Zealand has to be considered in understanding the emergence of the Skykiwi online community and its role in identity construction. According to Manying Ip and David Pang (2005: 183), the “evolution of New Zealand Chinese identity” has gone through three main phases: 1) “The sojourner’s phase of isolated and ostracized identity (1860s to the 1940s)”, when the power of “China was weak”, and the mainstream New Zealand society “was discriminatory and hostile”; 2) “The model minority phase of separated and marginalized identity (1950s to 1970s), when China was despised, and New Zealand was more tolerant and accepting”. 3) “The phase of emergent multiple identities (1980s to present), when China is economically strong, and New Zealand is more benign”. This history implies that, “while the earlier Chinese immigrants were regarded as having an assimilated identity”, the newcomers, especially after the New Zealand “immigration reforms (search for an Asian/Pacific identity)” from 1986, “manifested a kind of transnational identity”. In this thesis, I assume that New Zealand Chinese identity may be entering a fourth phase - that they perform a hybrid identity and deploy a series of strategies to manage their identities for partial integration. Therefore, exploring this distinctive way of identity construction for New Zealand Chinese is the main purpose of this study.

### **Purpose of the study**

The development of an information society in New Zealand confronts all groups and especially diaspora communities with the challenge to shape and to participate in this process of change. Whilst the web as a community - building tool in New Zealand has been studied by communication scholars mostly in terms of political issues or in terms of specific user groups such as gamers, until now the online practices and discourses



of diasporic people have not thoroughly been investigated. There is perhaps an assumption that the internet is not relevant to these people's lives in New Zealand. However, it is especially not true for Chinese diaspora in New Zealand, as the New Zealand based Chinese networks in cyberspace today are among the fastest developing of all. More importantly, the popularity of such networks is not just a case of the emergence of another online cultural space for Chinese diaspora but also indicates a new way of identity and community formation. Furthermore, much research has been done to examine the Chinese diasporic networks in some multicultural nations, including the United States, United Kingdom, Singapore and other European countries (Ng, 1999; Melkote & Liu, 2000; Parker & Song, 2006; Chan, 2006). According to the reports, the substantial percentage of Chinese in New Zealand's population is around 3% (the statistic is now more than 4%<sup>4</sup>). The percentage is far higher than that of America (1%), Holland (1%) and Britain (0.42%) (Yang, 2005: 15). The sparse academic interest and the distinctive characteristics of the Chinese diasporic cultural space have made [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz) a promising site in the field of new media and diaspora studies.

I do believe that studying New Zealand is important for scholarship more generally. Firstly, the social-political environment, particularly the immigration policy, may be quite different from the United Kingdom, United States and other European countries. The different social context can give rise to distinct social forms and phenomena for diasporic communication practices and experiences. Secondly, the rapid growth in the Chinese population in New Zealand recently, despite its geographic isolation, may bring about great changes in social and power relations among different ethnic groups. This significant social transformation may be manifested to some extent through the study of communication practices. So adding New Zealand context in Chinese diasporic communication studies has distinct value.

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<sup>4</sup> The recent statistic of Chinese in New Zealand's population can be retrieved online at: [http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/ethnic-profiles.aspx?request\\_value=24737&parent\\_id=24726&tabname=#24737](http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/ethnic-profiles.aspx?request_value=24737&parent_id=24726&tabname=#24737)

The purpose of this thesis, therefore, is to explore the distinctive features of a diasporic online cultural space - its online discourses, interactions and communicative content, and particularly the identity formations among members of the diasporic virtual community. The object of this research is one such space for Chinese diaspora in New Zealand - [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz) where a new cultural space is being formed and thereby shaping diaspora's identity processes. By "diasporic identity", I emphasize its cultural formation which is promoted by "a sense of belonging generated from shared cultural repertoire" (Yang, 2003: 486). However, cultural identity is always contested and struggled over and the internet amplifies this struggle and imagining: it enables diasporic identities to be experienced and imagined in very immediate and quotidian ways. For Chinese diaspora in New Zealand, one observation from this study suggests that they are well adjusted and play by local rules in some realms of their lives, while in other aspects they stick to their original cultural background. This hybrid cultural phenomenon is emerging and circulating via the internet. Therefore, in particular, this research aims to identify the essential elements that construct the Chinese diaspora's hybrid identities and thus to propose the distinct features of Chinese virtual community by analyzing the online discourses and interactions on [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz).

### **Theoretical context of research**

This study is projected to examine the constructions of Chinese diasporic identity in one cultural space. The essential theoretical foundation lies in the literature on media representation and identity. According to Simon Cottle (2000: 2), the media plays a dual role "in the public representation of social relations and cultural power": 1) "the media occupy a key site and perform a crucial role" in which its audiences can "construct a sense of who 'we' are in relation to who 'we' are not, whether as 'us' and 'them', 'insider' and 'outsider', 'colonizer' and 'colonized', 'citizen' and 'foreigner', 'normal' and deviant', 'friend' and 'foe', 'the west' and 'the rest'; 2) "the media can also serve to affirm social and cultural diversity and, moreover, provide crucial spaces

in and through which imposed identities or the interests of others can be resisted, challenged and changed”. Of course what Cottle is talking about is the public communication and Skykiwi is not a site in the general New Zealand public space, but a narrower space. However, these narrower public spaces are crucial in enabling groups to take part in the public life of the society more generally. In terms of this study, both these roles of constructing and negotiating identity are manifested as the relationships among the web-based media, online interactions and virtual community are the main objects of the research. The contextual and intertextual factors that shape identity formation are explored in this study with the help of discourse analysis. Discourse analysis, especially the analysis of languages used “on site to enact specific social activities and social identities” (Gee, 2005: 1) is applied in this research to explore contextual meanings of diasporic identities and position them within their specific social and cultural circumstances. How the diasporic identities are constructed via the online discourse and shaped by various social realities is the essential concern.

On the basis of the media representation research framework above, some approaches and theories of identity formation among diaspora are also employed in this research to help with the analysis of the specific site. As to the issues of identities, more attention has been paid due to the expansion of global institutions and trade, the movement of people that has never been seen before as well as the growth of communication channels and the increasing power of global economy and politics (Gabriel, 1998). Although questions of identity and difference have for sometime been prevalent in debates about the media and culture, the constitution, dynamics and hybridity of identity precisely pose challenge to researchers interested in media representations of issues of “diaspora” or “ethnicity” (Ferguson, 1998). Today diaspora people move across the world and interact with distinct cultures to reach various sites of connection among them. This movement has led to a change of paradigm, that is, from a “bi-cultural” to a “hybrid identity” (Bailey et al, 2007). These hybrid identities are slowly gaining space through diasporic networks in which

the internet can function as mechanisms for negotiation and adaptation of the multitude of cultural products in the host country. On the one hand, the internet can help the diaspora learn the host country's behaviours to enable them to participate effectively in the host society. On the other hand the possibilities to stay in intensive contact with the home country via the internet can strengthen the efforts of the diaspora to preserve and enhance their own cultural values (Mitra, 1997a). Therefore, internet communication could be an important factor in the formation of diaspora's hybrid cultural identity and a study exploring the linkage between the online interaction and identity formation seems necessary.

### **Method of the study**

It is widely noted that the identity construction is characterized by constant mobility and instability. Considering the ever-changing nature of the research object, this study adopts a qualitative approach, rather than a quantitative method that relies considerably on inert statistical data. Generally based on Gee's framework, different levels and dimensions of discourse analysis, namely, lexical and intertextual, social and psychological, are employed in this study to explore the discursive construction of Chinese diaspora's identities on the internet. By the term "discourse", I emphasize its meaning of language-in-use, which refers to: 1) language use as a social practice; 2) the kind of language used within a specific field; 3) a way of speaking/writing which gives meaning to experience from a particular perspective (Gee, 2005).

All the study samples were gathered in the period of March 2009 to September 2009 while I browsed [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz) for a random day each week. The three pilot samples and a further twenty articles were selected from the front page of the site, under the columns of "New Zealand news", "hot topics within the week", "hot articles from forums" and "Skykiwi announcements and activities". The five post topics from forum discussion were chosen due to their large number of repliers and with relevance to the issue of identity.

There are many different approaches to discourse analysis. No matter which approach is used, almost all discourse analysts share the same perspective that language should not be analyzed in isolation and that it has meaning only in and through social practices. Thus by analyzing the news articles, personal stories and forum discussions on the website, this thesis attempts to explore how language is used “on site” to signal Chinese diasporic specific cultural identities.

### **Significance of the study**

As introduced above, there is a sparse literature and sporadic studies concerning the discursive formation of the Chinese diaspora’s cultural identity on the internet in New Zealand. Therefore, this thesis attempt to shed at least some light on the following issues:

1. The Chinese have always been New Zealand’s largest non-European and non-Polynesian ethnic group, with a history dating back to the mid-1860s. This study may help to map an up-to-date landscape of Chinese diaspora’s media sphere in New Zealand and thus contributing to the understanding of New Zealand’s multicultural society.
2. By the term “diaspora”, I mean the whole Chinese overseas community in New Zealand. Therefore, not merely limited to immigrants, the current study will also involve communities such as new and temporary settlers (Chinese students etc.) who are not so much part of established Chinese community and still strongly linked to home in China. The focus on the internet allows me to study not just those long-established groups that are easily identified but also the new and more transient Chinese immigrants to New Zealand, who form a large part of the Chinese population.
3. According to the literature, “pluralism” implies that ethnic groups may largely maintain their native value systems and some native behaviors but still participate in

the host society (Melkote and Liu, 2000). In general “assimilation” implies a complete merging of ethnic groups with the host society as in the “melting pot” theory. It requires immigrants to adapt their native values to host values (Teske and Nelson, 1974). Instead of supporting the above often-used theories, namely “melting pot” and “assimilation”, I emphasize the perspectives of “pluralism” and “hybridity” on the diaspora’s online experiences.

4. Globalization has brought about great changes to almost every corner and diasporic communities do appear to be significant aspects of globalization processes (Appadurai, 1996). In this context, my study on one Chinese diasporic cultural space in specific location could draw new theories and findings to the existing literature of diaspora and globalization studies.

### **Outline of Chapters**

This thesis starts with a theoretical chapter that draws a general social context for the subsequent analysis. The first part of chapter discusses on the impacts of globalization, showing that the communication environment today is one of the most complex and richest of all, and thereby open up new ways to characterize diaspora and identity. The identification of diasporic transnationalism (e.g. Portes, 2001), process of hybridization (e.g. Pieterse, 1995) and the growth of diasporic media (e.g. Cottle, 2000) further testifies to this profound social transformation. The second part of literature review continues to illustrate the significance of diasporic media in which diasporic media uses can play a variety of roles in diasporic overseas experiences, especially in seeking diverse and dynamic ways to adapt to a new society and meanwhile maintain their original cultural identity (Karim, 1998; Hiller and Franz, 2004; Mitra, 2005; Georgiou, 2006a; Elias, 2008). The spread of internet communication, the development of diasporic networks and their online activities accelerates the dynamics and fluidity of this social process. In this context, Chinese diaspora and their internet communications can be seen as one example of the formation of a diasporic network, which can best be understood within frameworks

developed out of existing theories of diasporic and transnational media, in terms of the role of the internet in a Chinese diaspora's adaptation to a host society, involving negotiation of new identity and maintenance of the original culture. Furthermore, through discussions of Chinese diasporic network located in New Zealand, I argue that Chinese diaspora in New Zealand may present distinct identity performances online and study of them will thereby enrich the previous understandings of diasporic identity and transnational media.

Chapter 3 follows up on the previous chapter of literature review with an exploration of the specific value of identity theory in theorizing the study. Identity is the key issue in the debates on globalization and social transformation, and it becomes more complicated while involving diaspora due to their transnational lives and meetings of different cultures. This chapter draws on theories of identity, subjectivity and sense-making, in terms of their relationships - how diaspora come to make sense of their social worlds and seek to shape identities in societies. It especially discusses the formation and transformation of a "pan-Chinese cultural identity" among Chinese diaspora.

Chapter 4 is a methodological chapter that includes the descriptions of the method and design of the current study. I mainly follow James Paul Gee's framework of discourse analysis, that is, the approach to the analysis of the functions of human language as a way to "enact specific social activities and social identities" (Gee, 2005). I also draw on ideas from other perspectives to the discourse analysis, such as lexical and intertextual, linguistic and psychological/cognitive. However, as discussed in Chapter 3, identity is a fluid and dynamic product that can be shaped and reshaped through wider social practices, such as the media, politics, business, education and so forth. Thus, it is possible, but only through some social practices, to study a certain mode of identity allocated to a specific group of people. The current study fits into this framework, attempting to investigate the cultural identity constructed within Chinese diaspora in New Zealand, particularly by looking at online discourses produced by

them in one interactive social space - [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz). By drawing on various perspectives and levels of discourse analysis, it is expected to resolve the main research question for this study: *What are the distinctive characteristics of online identity construction among Chinese diaspora in [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz)?* The main research question includes the following three sub-questions: 1) How do Chinese diaspora construct identities within discourses in [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz)? 2) How do Chinese diaspora form a sense of cultural belonging through online discussions that facilitates their virtual community building? 3) How do Chinese diaspora negotiate multiple identities on the site and thereby enable hybrid formations? The empirical research is designed and carried out according to these research questions.

Following Chapter 4 are three substantive chapters about the analysis of Skykiwi online discourse produced by Chinese diaspora in New Zealand using collected data. Chapter 5 serves as a pilot stage, presenting a preliminary discourse analysis of three sample articles that all contain a number of distinctive identity practices produced in Skykiwi web pages. The analysis starts from the micro-level that examines the key words and phrases enacting specific identity performances. In the second half of the chapter, I also examine the macro-level of given texts, including sentence construction, conversation thinking, rhetorical strategies and intertextuality. Seven discourse models are built from this chapter, which lead to the particular identity discourses produced online.

Based on Chapter 5, Chapter 6 focuses and demonstrates the analysis of a larger number of texts - all of the twenty selected articles. The analytical perspective generally follows the preliminary analysis and finds out that some discourse models are reinforced with more evidences while others are to some extent in tension with previous ones. Since the selected articles are produced by diaspora individuals, so it is normal to see the different performances in identity discourse. However, it is significant in the findings that some models and ideas are shared broadly across texts, indicating the shared values and particular identity presented by Skykiwi online



discourse.

Chapter 5 focuses on three article texts, while Chapter 6 looks at the larger online texts. Chapter 7 goes more broadly by looking at the interactive space in Skykiwi - the online forum - so as to see whether those discourse values are also shared by more community members within the larger communication space. By examining the constructions of online community, I find that a virtual community is being formed on the site where Chinese diaspora have a sense of belonging by expressing shared practices and values. The analysis of forum discussions not only demonstrates two conflicting forces coexisting on the site, which have been found in many other diasporic online groups; More importantly, it presents the distinctive features of Skykiwi virtual community in a several meaningful ways.

The thesis concludes by reviewing the key findings addressed in the analysis chapters. Broadly speaking, I suggest that the construction of diasporic identity via the diasporic network is a fluid, complex and discursive process. For Chinese diaspora on Skykiwi, they are forming a hybrid identity that combines both the original values and new cultures and thereby make a specific sense of the world. This thesis, therefore, contributes to the theory of hybrid identity formation among diaspora by adding the distinct way of dynamically constructing identity by Chinese diaspora on Skykiwi.

## Chapter 2. Literature Review

Globalization has brought about great changes to almost every corner of the world, offering the richest and most complex communication environment that has ever existed. Diaspora, as one of the most significant aspects of globalization processes, in return open up new ways of thinking about globalization, transnationalism, difference, media, culture, race, ethnicity, network and related ideas. “Emigration and re-emigration, as well as the general flow of information via mass media, migrant networks, and so on, lead to the emergence of cultural significations which resist all but the most syncretic designations” (Wicker, 1997: 37). In this context, the implications of globalization on cultural hybridity, diaspora and media have developed in abundant theoretical discussions and empirical research. This chapter, starting with discussions on globalization, media culture and diaspora, draws a general context for the subsequent analysis. The discussions show that the communication environment today is greatly shaped by the process of globalization in which it opens up new ways to characterize diaspora and identity. The identification of diasporic transnationalism, process of hybridization and the growth of diasporic media further testifies this profound social transformation. The second part of literature continues to illustrate the significance of diasporic media in which diasporic media uses can play a variety of roles in diasporic overseas experiences, especially in seeking diverse and dynamic ways to adapt to a new society and meanwhile maintain their original cultural identity (Karim, 1998; Hiller and Franz, 2004; Mitra, 2005; Georgiou, 2006a; Elias, 2008). However, in terms of Chinese diasporic networks, sparse literature has been found concerning the discursive formation of Chinese diaspora’s cultural identity on the internet in New Zealand. From this point of view, the distinctive characteristics of the Chinese diasporic cultural space have made [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz) a promising site in the field of new media and diaspora studies.

## **2. 1 Literature review on globalization, diaspora and media**

This chapter, in beginning with discussion on globalization, finds that early debates about the phenomenon have been driven by two academic forces - “homogenizers” and “heterogenizers”. However, both two contestants address different angles and issues of globalization respectively, and thus both fail to provide a comprehensive explanation of this process. In order to capture the nature of the globalization, Pieterse (1995) introduced a new term, “hybridization”, and argued that globalization can be understood as a process of hybridization in which people of the world join into a “global society”. The identification of hybridity gave rise to new thinking on recognizing “difference” and “diversity”. In debates over ethnic diversity, the term “diaspora” is seen as better addressing the cultural difference and diversity than “race” and “ethnicity”, since it is defined as a “mode of cultural production” of globalization (Vertovec, 1999: 451). Moreover, diaspora’s transnational activities via global networks across boundaries facilitate the production of hybrid cultural phenomena and in return change the nature of diaspora. With the emergence of diasporic media, there has been profound transformation in contemporary diaspora. The historical and stereotypical representations of diaspora by mass media have been replaced by the “authentic” and “pluralistic” representations through the dramatic varied scales of diasporic media (Cottle, 2000). Generally produced in the forms of transnational diasporic media from the country of origin and local diasporic media in the country of settlement, diasporic media create new possibilities for expressing and presenting imagination and belonging across space and time (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991). Georgiou (2002) listed a number of characteristics of diasporic media to discuss its role in diasporic identity construction and community building. However, the diversity of diasporic media operations makes it difficult to draw all-inclusive conclusions about their characteristics, their productions, and roles in processes of identity construction, community building and participation (Husband et al., 2000). Thus, implications of diaspora in the context of globalization and diasporic media have attracted much academic interest and resulted in a number of empirical studies

(e.g. Cottle, 2000; Cunningham & Sinclair, 2001; Georgiou, 2002; Fazal, 2007). It is my interest to explore the identity construction and community building of Chinese diaspora via the medium of diasporic website. In short, the literature review in this chapter is to set up a theoretical context for studying the issues of diasporic identity and seeking new possibilities that globalization and diasporic media offer to shape the diasporic identity process.

### 2.1.1 Understanding diaspora in the context of globalization

This section concentrates on literature about the relationship between globalization and recognizing ethnic difference. Globalization is a process and context that shapes recognizing ethnic difference and diversity, especially in this study the term diaspora. The review here finds that hybridization is a useful theory to understand the process of globalization. The development of hybridity enables the idea of multiple cultural phenomena and would change the nature of diaspora, especially diasporic identities and communities. Moreover, the debates on diaspora and globalization give rise to the concepts of transnationalism as diaspora are the very subjects of various transnational activities.

#### ***Globalization***

Since the 1960s, the concept of globalization has expression in almost all the world's major languages and has become an increasingly influential paradigm in the human sciences. The debates on globalization in a very important sense have followed discussions on "modernity" and "postmodernity" in the understanding of socio-cultural change and as the central theme for social theory (Featherstone & Lash, 1995). According to Robertson (1995: 25-28), there were two main contestants in the first generation of globalization debates: "homogenizers", including Giddens (1990) and a number of Marxists and functionalists, and "heterogenizers", including some theorists of "interculturalism" such as Edward Said (1978), Homi K. Bhabha (1990)

and Stuart Hall (1992), as well as reflexive anthropologists such as Clifford and Marcus (1986). The homogenizers tend to analyze globalization as a world system and look for signs of the universal in particular situations, whether as “commodification” or as “time-space distancing”<sup>5</sup>. Heterogenizers tend to dispute that a system exists and will disclaim the distinction of universal and particular, for example seeing the dominance of the West over “the rest” as that of simply one particular over others. Thus, the homogenizer is most likely to be found in the social sciences and the heterogenizers, of course, in cultural studies. In order to go some way to overcoming the aporia of homogenizers and heterogenizers, Robertson proposed a new term - “glocalization”, referring to “the intersection of presence and absence” over broad stretches of time and space. In this regard, glocalization involves the “disembedding or absence of traditional and local activities and artefacts and then, the re-embedding or presencing of activities and artefacts from far away in that same local context” (1995: 29).

Convinced “heterogenizers” such as Jan Nederveen Pieterse would be sceptical of Robertson’s arguments which he might see as representing just a more sophisticated version of universalism. For Pieterse (1995: 54), globalization can be understood as “a process of hybridization, which gives rise to a global *mélange*”<sup>6</sup>. In order to explore this hybrid process, Pieterse attempts to address globalization in its various modes, particularly in its forms of multiple transnational agents, global migration and culture mix (1995: 45-65). Pieterse first agrees that globalization could be viewed in the plural as globalization “refers to all those processes by which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single world society, global society” (Albrow, 1990: 9). In this regard, globalization could thus be viewed as a multidimensional process in which any single object can be attributed to different realms simultaneously. Secondly,

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<sup>5</sup> According to Giddens (1990), “in a general way, the concept of globalization is best understood as expressing fundamental aspects of time-space distancing, which concerns the intersection of presence and absence, the interlacing of social events and social relations ‘at distance’ with local contextualities” (p: 21)

<sup>6</sup> Global *mélange* refers to an intercontinental crossover culture resulted from centuries of South-North cultural osmosis. Global “*crossover culture*”, “*creolization*”, “*mestizaje*” and “*orientalization*” are all appropriate characterization of the long-term global North-South *mélange* (Pieterse, 1995: 54).

Pieterse introduces another way to understand the plurality of globalization, that is, there are as many modes of globalization as there are globalizing “agents and dynamics or impulses”, for instance, transnational business associations, global corporations with affiliations in multiple locations in different countries, political cross-border organizations (embassies), international education institutions (universities with exchange programs), cross cultural tours (e.g. visiting, travel or performance) and multiple transnational networks. Hence, for Pieterse, if globalization could be viewed as plural and diverse, then globalization could also be understood as a process of “hybridization”, “in which forms become separated from exiting practices and recombine with new forms in new practices”. It can be seen from the definition that Pieterse primarily considers hybridity as the combination of separated and different forms; hybridization thus concerns a “cross-category process”. Pieterse’s idea of the “categories” include “cultures, nations, ethnicities, status groups, and classes” in which hybridity can serve as the transition period negotiating between mainstream and margin, majority and minority, indicating a cross-penetrating, mutually-influential, mixed and recombined process. Another phenomenon identified by Pieterse is “hybridity as migration *mélange*”. Migration is one of the most significant aspects of globalization as it creates new cultural and identity patterns, for instance, a mixed cultural pattern that combines both culture from the origin and culture from the settlement. It fits the description of “Muslim in the daytime, disco in the evening” (Pieterse, 1995). Thus, cultural hybridization, in Pieterse’s analysis, refers to “mixing across Asian, African, American, European cultures and hybridization is the making of global culture as a global *mélange*”. From this point downplays the fixed concept of culture that challenges “romantic nationalism, racism, ethnicism and cultural essentialism”. Hybridization, then, ushers in transcultural cut and mix. Eventually, Pieterse argues, “fixities have become fragments” and the collective experience of “nation, community, ethnicity, or class” become more complex and subtle (1995: 45-65). In conclusion, from Pieterse’s perspective, globalization is not a condition of modernization, but instead a historical epoch, beginning from the 1960s and contemporaneous with postmodernity. I discuss

Pieterse's theory in the very beginning because it is a major position from which to think about the whole topic. Firstly, I consider this research to belong to the cultural studies' domain, so that I basically follow theories of "heterogenizers" and "interculturalism". Particularly I agree with Pieterse that hybridity is one of the most important products and significant trends of globalization as well as global migration. Secondly, my research topic - identity construction of Chinese diaspora on the internet - is one empirical case for studying cultural hybridity within this big framework. However, I regard cultural hybridity in the identity of diaspora as a discursive process - not just a "fixing end", but rather a dynamic and fluid object shaped and reshaped in social practices.

Similarly, some systematic critique, such as from Friedman (1995: 69) and Luke (1995: 91), contend that the hybridity theories should not understand culture as "substance" but as process. Friedman, for example, does not want to look at the hybridity of cultural artefacts; instead he wants to look at cultural practices in the creation and reproduction of identity-spaces. He wants to look not at the "what" but at "how", not at disembodied artefacts, but at forms of life. However, the identification of hybridization is still meaningful as it might be a sign of "an age of boundary crossing", together with the increase in the range of transnational institutions, intercultural communication, and there opening of imagined communities (Featherstone & Lash, 1995). This phenomenon may be promoted and strengthened by the global practices of diaspora in cultural realms because globalization primarily involves neither universalism nor "multiculturalism", but instead "interculturalism"<sup>7</sup>, in which an individual has a choice of a plurality of ethnic organizations as a basis of multiple identity. As a significant character of globalization, however, hybridity primarily assumes the "difference" existing between categories, people and cultures

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<sup>7</sup> Multiculturalism, as a generic concept that encapsulates a state's willingness to recognize ethnic diversity through its policy and practice, is a highly contested phenomenon (Downing & Husband, 2005).

Interculturalism is the keynote of cultural syncretism which refers to the methodology of montage and collage, to cross-cultural "plots of music, clothing, behavior, advertising, theatre, body language, or...visual communication, spreading multi-ethnic and multi-centric patterns" (Canevacchi, 1992: 109).

that gradually go into the mixture. So it is necessary to talk about the history of recognizing difference.

### ***Recognizing difference and ethnic diversity***

Recognizing “difference” and “diversity” have become key issues in contemporary societies under the processes of globalization which have brought about national restructuring, economic realignment, and resocialization. Global flows of economy, communication, politics and culture, embedded within migrants and immigrants, have added to the demographic diversity of countries in every continent. In academic discourse, terms of “race”, “racism”, “ethnicity” and “diaspora”, defining current ethnic diversity, are struggling for theoretical and political recognition. It is generally accepted that racism is a poisonous ideology and a destructive practice (Downing and Husband, 2005); while the terms of “race” and “ethnicity” can be valued “positively or negatively”, accounting for deep-rooted social inequalities or the pursuit of cultural differences (Cottle, 2000). However, the idea of “diaspora” seems to provide a better understanding of ethnic hybridity and presenting how globalization would shape the process of “recognizing difference”. Hence, the term diaspora emerging from discussions below is considered as most useful.

### ***Race and racism***

In discussions about conceptions of race and racism, Braziel (2008: 132-134) argues that the term “race” can serve a purpose to distinguish human beings geographically and ethnically “as biologically discrete subspecies marked out by physical or pheno-typical appearance”. These ideas first emerged in the anthropological and philosophical writings of Enlightenment thinkers in the eighteenth century, and then proliferated in the nineteenth century with “pseudo-scientific” theories of race and racial difference (such as in Comte de Gobineau’s “On the Inequality of the Races”). In the twentieth century under the critiques of social scientists and anthropologists, the biological definitions of race lost way. Braziel writes that, for most scholars of the twentieth century, race is not biological, but rather cultural, inculturated, and thus



changeable; race is a cultural construct, a product of language, culture, history, and power relations among individual communities. Some scholars (notably Stephen Castle, Paul Gilroy, and others) assert that race is no more than a secondary byproduct of racism: in other words, racism creates and sustains hierarchical relations of power among various groups of people based on artificial distinctions, such as phenotype or skin colour, among human groups. Therefore, when speaking of racism, it is important to understand first that race is a cultural construct that is historically malleable and differently deployed at different moments in time and in varying national contexts (Braziel, 2008: 132).

To further understand race, it is also necessary to define racism as a critical term that has variant forms: “everyday racism”; “biological racism”; “cultural racism”; “violent racism”; “historical or political racism”; and “institutional racism”<sup>8</sup> (Braziel, 2008:134). Instances of racism, like cultural-historical constructs of race, are neither monolithic, nor universal and transhistorical; they vary according to the real-world contexts; they are inherently about social, political, material relations of power; they are about social hierarchy, control, possession, and dispossession (Braziel, 2008).

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<sup>8</sup> Braziel divides racism into the following categories:

Everyday racism: individual acts of prejudice, antipathy, discrimination, or hatred.

Biological racism: the prejudicial beliefs that characteristics or traits are in born or intrinsic to given races.

Cultural racism: the prejudicial belief that races possess distinct characteristics (typically regarded as negative) due to learned, cultural differences.

Violent racism: brutal acts of violence, even murder, due to profound levels of prejudicial hatred (lynching, police brutality, or other hate crimes).

Historical/political racism: broad historical moments defined by widespread injustice, prejudice, and disenfranchisement against a targeted race of ethnic group (segregation, Jim Crowism).

Institutional racism: the resilient forms of race prejudice and ethnic bias that were historically formative in the structuring of legal documents (such as the US Constitution), laws (property laws, criminal laws, civil laws), municipal policies, academic disciplines, or other forms of knowledges. This level of racism almost becomes invisible decades or centuries after it becomes inscribed into law or policy, but intractably remains as residual, yet very real, forms of material racism that is very damaging to disadvantaged communities. (Braziel, 2008: p.134)

## *Ethnicity*

Discussion on the definition of ethnicity is intended to provide an essential introduction to understanding the multi-layered complexities of ethnicity from social and cultural perspectives. An explicit explanation of ethnicity is “cultural in contact”, which considers that ethnic group formation is actively negotiated by in-group and out-group identities (Downing and Husband, 2005). It means people can recognize their ethnicities when they communicate with others from different cultures. Language is one of the crucial distinctive criteria that allow recognition of “those like us” and exclude “those not like us”. Eriksen suggested that:

Ethnicity occurs when cultural differences are made relevant through interaction. This concerns what is socially relevant, not which cultural differences are “actually there”. Indeed, a variety of criteria can be used as markers of cultural difference in inter-ethnic situations-phenotype (appearance or “race”), language, religion or even clothes. If any such marker is socially recognized as an indicator of an ethnic contrast, it matters little if the “objective cultural differences” are negligible.

(1995:251)

Three points from Eriksen’s definition should be stressed here: 1) it reinforced Downing and Husband’s description of ethnicity as “cultural in contact”. Social interaction is the premise of recognizing ethnicity; 2) ethnicity is relational and it is identified with what it is different and not; 3) ethnicity is also a process in which its members may be continuously involved in the negotiation of their identity. But they would “do so with a strong sense of continuity with a shared history” since “it matters little if the ‘objective cultural differences’ are negligible” (Downing and Husband, 2005: 16).

If we can agree with Eriksen that ethnicity is relational and is rather a mode of social process instead of a stable object, then we need to explore further elements of this process. It is particularly valuable for my thesis to do so because ethnicity is a key

component of identity and thus would help me unfold the process of diasporic identity construction. The idea of ethnicity has been recognized as a positive phenomenon in contemporary life and has been frequently invoked as a “primordial basis for nation-building” according to peoples’ distinctive identities (Downing and Husband, 2005). Social constructionism and social identity theory articulate that identity is formed with a social and political analysis of ethnic group construction and these theories may open up the complexity of ethnic identities. Thus the nature of human identities is described as situational, according to Wallman (1986). And ethnicity is not only situational, it is also understood to be hybrid which is a further understanding of the complex nature of human identities, and particularly of the fact that different identities are uniquely melded together within individual biographies (Downing and Husband, 2005).

Therefore, ethnicity is not a stable property of an individual, implanted, but rather a continuous process of identity construction in which individuals participate collectively in defining and valorizing a group identity (Downing and Husband, 2005). A further vogue concept, diaspora, provides a better understanding of ethnic hybridity, presenting present and past migrants as shaping the demography and reconstruction of the contemporary world. More recently, according to Cunningham and Sinclair (2001), when the diversity within diaspora communities is recognized and illuminated through the language of hybridity, then the dynamic processes within diaspora communities are more readily rendered visible.

### *Conceptualizing diaspora*

The above notions of race, racism and ethnicity reflect historical descriptions of “difference in people”, implying that the recognition of difference is connected to the imposition of hierarchies. However, conceptualizing diasporas may open new ways of thinking about nationalism, transnationalism, communication, ethnicity, gender, identity, human mobility, representation, politics and media, allowing us to grasp diasporas in terms of their connections with new experiences and subjectivities and

perhaps new ways of being and belonging. Historically speaking, “Diaspora is a concept with more than 2500 years of history” and originated in the Greek language, concerning migration and colonization, while the contemporary contextualization rests on the impact of globalization and the mobility of migrant communities (Baily, et.al, 2007). Many scholars studying diaspora attempt to address the concept of diaspora by their transnational movements and overseas lives, for instance, Marienstrass (1989), Cohen (1997), Bailey et. al. (2007) and Braziel (2008) have reconceptualized diaspora on the basis of their diverse experiences in various locations since the 1990s. The dramatic increase in concern about the implications of globalization has led to diaspora being regarded also as a typical analytical category and significant aspect in exploring social changes, such as intercultural communications, human movements across borders, citizenship or identity crises, and cultural hybridization.

An early description of diaspora was expressed well by Stuart Hall in the 1990s, involving important connections between the process of hybridization and the changing nature of diaspora. Hall (1992: 310-314) demonstrated two contradictory tendencies of the post modern world: firstly the tendency of highlighting significant impacts of globalization - “assimilation and homogenization”; secondly, in response to globalization there are increasing tendencies to reassert ethnic, nationalistic, and religious identities. Within this context, Hall introduces a new term “identity in transition”, arguing that there are new modes of cultural identities emerging that combine diverse values, practices and traditions. More importantly, this does not mean the simple abandonment of the old and complete assimilation of the new, but rather a compatible combination of both. Hall calls this phenomenon the “development of the cultures of hybridity” and links this process with the “new diaspora” characterized by the “colonial experience and the resultant postcolonial migrations”.

A synopsis of literature on diaspora is provided by Steven Vertovec (1999: 450-452)

which he identified three forms of diaspora: “diaspora as a social form”, “diaspora as a type of consciousness” and “diaspora as a mode of cultural production”. “Diaspora as a social form” means the social relationship formed by common origins and migrations routes, tensions between loyalties to homeland and the host country, and the ability to mobilize collective resources and deploy the economic strategies that enable such collective action among some diaspora groups. “Diaspora as a type of consciousness” is a fairly recent perspective that explains the awareness of issues concerning social exclusion and discrimination and yet at the same time the intense connection to the histories of homelands or current cultural forces like religion. “Diaspora as a mode of cultural production” refers to the issues of globalization where the identities of diasporic communities are perceived to be fluid, syncretic, crossover and hybrid. These multiple cultural phenomena are boosted by global media and communications that offer access to range of cultures from which facets of identity are consciously selected, particularly by young people (Vertovec, 1999). Fazal argues that the articulation of diaspora towards the late 20th century has enabled the idea of multiple identities and multi-faceted cultural phenomena to be made palatable within mono-cultural environments, where such trends are celebrated with descriptions of “fusion”, hybridity and so on (2007: 36).

The above perspectives highlight the major issues on conceptualizing diaspora and underline the celebratory aspects of cultural identities that have emerged from the process of diaspora; however, there are also critiques on the limitation of diaspora theory. Virinder et al. (2005) have questioned the helpfulness of conceptualizing diaspora on the issues of equality and social justice, particularly in his argument: “If words could change the world, then ‘diaspora’ is one of those terms that promised much but delivered little” (Virinder et al., 2005: 8). Like Virinder, Brian Axel also provides an argument that the concept of diaspora has not moved the situation any further from the earlier conceptualization of multiculturalism (Axel, 2002). Given the above criticism, the term diaspora continues to challenge traditional ideas of nation and identity. In re-evaluating the conceptualization of diaspora, Brah (1996) argues

that the notion of diaspora does not necessarily have to be used to refer to the diverse aspects of the global movement of people; instead, the idea of diaspora helps us to understand “the historical and contemporary elements”.

Two key indicators emerge from the literature and debates on diaspora. Firstly, discussion on relationships of historical and contemporary elements of power and engagement between diaspora communities and their host countries is not prevalent. Secondly, the celebratory conceptualization of diaspora tends to focus on the recognition of multiple identities and exposure to diverse cultures. The current study employs the idea of “diaspora” more than “ethnicity”, addressing the hybrid formation of diaspora identities on the premise of recognizing cultural difference and diversity.

### ***Transnationalism***

The word diaspora has been used for decades and the world has been full of diaspora of different geographic origins and social characteristics. Globalization scholars also tend to explore -though relatively peripherally -the link between diaspora and the development of “global networks, transnational affiliations and political loyalties” across borders (Castells, 1996; Cohen, 1997; Axel, 2002). Due to more efficient transportation and communication, globalization of production and increasing spatial dispersal of diaspora from different homelands in the last three decades have given rise to the concepts of transnationalism. A growing body of studies on transnational networks, diasporic communities, international corporations, social mobilizations, political organizations, population movements, identities and global cultures have attempted to look into various phenomena relevant to the description of transnationalism, which may require “research and theorization on different scales and levels” (Georgiou, 2007). The following section firstly discusses the concept of transnationalism, particularly focusing on a clear description of its domain - what transnationalism is and is not. Then it will address the relationship between transnationalism and diaspora as well as the social formations in this context.

In studying transnational practices of immigrants, an enterprising group of anthropologists including Nina Glick Schiller, Cristina Blanc-Szanton, and Linda Basch have tried to interpret various aspects of this phenomenon. These scholars define transnationalism as “the process by which transmigrants, through their daily activities, forge and sustain multi-stranded social, economic, and political relationships that link together their societies of origin and settlement, and through which they create transnational social fields that cross national borders” (Basch et al., 1994: 6).

Although identification of this transnational process is of great significance, there seems an exaggeration of its domain. Against an earlier argument that “everyone was going transnational”, critics pointed out that not all immigrants were engaged in transnational activities and many of them participated only “on an occasional basis” (Guarnizo, Portes & Haller, 2003). A reason for exaggeration of the domain is an enthusiastic recognition of the distinctiveness of the phenomenon, particularly the ways in which “it challenged models of immigrant assimilation”. A second reason for exaggeration was the methodology used by the earlier studies. Many studies conducted by social researchers tended to use qualitative methods that concentrated on specific immigrant communities. As a result, they were only able to identify the varieties of immigrants’ transnational practices, instead of “numerical incidence”, which might give rise to the “generalization to the entire immigrant population” (Glick Schiller & Fouron, 1999). More recent research also reveals the limited scope of transnational activities, for instance Guarnizo, Portes and Haller (2003) find out that the number of immigrants regularly participating in transnational activities doesn’t take up more than 18 percent of all, and most often this number is even less. It indicates that “not all immigrants are ‘transmigrants’ and it is more useful to conceptualize transnationalism as one form of economic, political, cultural adaptation that co-exists with other, more traditional forms” (Portes, 2001: 183). I don't mean to criticize opinions on transnationalism, but rather make the scope of this thesis clear. I will analyze the Chinese diasporic transnational activities on [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz) as a

specific phenomenon, with the aim of contributing to the range of studies on diverse aspects of globalization and transnational processes.

The term “transnational” could be used in multiple ways in many diverse contexts. In order to avoid confusion among these multiple meanings, classification is needed of various forms of transnational practices. Portes (2001: 185-186) identified four different activities carried out across boundaries: “those conducted by national states”; “those conducted by formal institutions that are based in a single country”; “those conducted by formal institutions that exist and operate in multiple countries”; “those conducted by non-institutional actors from civil society”. Examples of the first categories include any political institutions initiated by national governments across borders, embassies, consulates, and so forth. The exchange programmes carried out by educational institutions with other countries and visiting groups to multiple countries with purposes of performance and travelling are examples of the third category. Global corporations with trade and sub-companies in multiple countries belong to the third category. Examples of the last group are cultural, business and social activities across national boundaries conducted by individual diaspora or immigrants. According to this classification, Portes (2001) uses the term “international” to stand for the first two categories mentioned above, that is, activities directed by national governments in other countries; while the term “multinational” may refer to the third category - activities carried out by institutions which aim to expand across multiple nations; the last category can be assigned to “transnational” activities that are personally conducted by cross-border individuals whose actions are not on behalf of any government or formal institutions. It is necessary to make a clear classification among these various forms so as to analyze each manifestation of cross border activities and their distinct features. Therefore, diasporic transnationalism represents just one manifestation of the above cross border activities, and particularly the fourth group of transnational practices are the ones I am most interested in.

Although the limitation of the scope for transnationalism has been identified, the



significance of the concept also needs attention, especially in the field of cultural theory and studies of diaspora and immigrants. Ethnic diaspora, described as “the exemplary communities in the transnational movement” by Töđyan (1991: 5), has become the typical term in understanding the notion of transnationalism. According to Sheffer (1986) and Safran (1991), one significant factor that characterizes diaspora as a social form is the links and relationships among three objects, also known as the “triadic relationship”. These three objects are 1) relatively scattered around the world “yet collectively self-identified ethnic groups”; 2) the countries and contexts where these ethnic groups settle or immigrate; 3) and the homes and cultures where they originated from. Thus the first significance of transnationalism is to facilitate the formation of transnational networks among individuals as well as collectives. The multi-layered and multi-dimensional networks extend boundaries to create new forms of social, cultural, economic and political relationships. Thus, it is just as Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson described:

Something like a transnational public sphere has certainly rendered any strictly bounded sense of community or locality obsolete. At the same time, it has enabled the creation of forms of solidarity and identity that do not rest on an appropriation of space where contiguity and face-to-face contact are paramount.

(1992: 9)

Furthermore, Wakeman (1988: 86) argues that the “loosening of the bonds between people, wealth, and territories which is concomitant with the rise of complex networks has altered the basis of many significant global interactions, while simultaneously calling into question the traditional definition of the state”. In these regards, the floating diaspora of the past give rise to today’s “transnational communities” that are maintained by multiple ties and networks, a variety of social agencies and interactions. This also challenges the early concepts of nation states and identity, creating possibilities to explore new forms of social relationships.

Another significance of diasporic transnationalism is that “it can alter, in various ways, the process of integration or assimilation<sup>9</sup> to the host society of both first-generation immigrants and their offspring” (Portes, 2001: 188). It indicates two possibilities. The first is that transnational diaspora finally come back home with their families when they get old. This fits into a common mode of diasporic experiences - “investing abroad/overseas while retiring at home” in their country of origin - although no accurate statistics have been found yet about the proportion of diaspora who eventually return home. The second possibility is that transnational activities may help lead to successful integration in the country of settlement.

A third point is that transnationalism may help cultural reproduction and recombination. With constant exposure to two or more cultural forms, transnationalism may involve fluid, dynamic and hybrid social forms, organizations and practices, which are always associated with “terms of syncretism, creolization, bricolage, cultural translation and hybridity” (Vertovec, 1999: 451). A range of everyday experiences, such as movies, television, music and even clothes are some examples of the most significant areas in which such transformations take place. The recognition of these hybrid cultural formations gives rise to the idea of “new ethnicities” which is particularly evident in younger diaspora who appear easier to adjust to the new cultural forms and environments. For this younger generation of diaspora, the identity forms are often recognized as self-conscious, “selected” and “syncretised from more than one heritage” (Hall, 1991). Furthermore, the dramatic development of media communications and technologies promote the spread of such social and cultural transformations. It is just as Appadurai and Breckenridge comment that:

Complex transnational flows of media images and messages perhaps create the greatest

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<sup>9</sup> The process of assimilation has been conventionally described as the gradual learning and adoption of the language, culture, and behavioral patterns of the receiving society and corresponding abandonment of those of the counties of origin. (Warner & Srole, 1945; Alba & Nee, 1997; Portes, 2001)

disjunctures for diasporic populations, since in the electronic media in particular, the politics of desire and imagination are always in contest with the politics of heritage and nostalgia.

(1989: iii)

Therefore, in the process of transnationalism, diaspora people maintain multiple ties - personal, institutional, cultural, religious, economic, and political that span national borders; and the constructions of their identities within these social networks are often associated with two or more cultural systems. Theorists such as Appadurai (1996) and Hannertz (1996) attempted to describe an experience stemming from occupying simultaneously two or more spaces or localities. These sociological and cultural approaches were complemented by explorations highlighting the multiple transnational flows of capital (Sklair, 2000), an emerging transnational political system (Held, 2003), and diasporas' transnational ways of life (Bailey et al., 2007). Despite different foci, much of the growing literature agrees that transnationalism reflects multiple ties and relationships connecting individuals or organizations that extend national boundaries. These various ties and relationships have developed at unimagined rates that expand into almost every continent of the world. New technologies, especially multiple media and communications channels, efficiently facilitate the proliferation of such networks. In this context, transnationalism serves as a description of the phenomenon in which, "despite great distances and notwithstanding the presence of international borders, the laws and regulations, certain kinds of relationships have been globally intensified and now take place paradoxically in a planet-spanning yet common-however virtual-arena of activity" (Vertovec, 1999: 448).

### 2.1.2 Explorations of diaspora in the media culture

Contemporary diasporas have continued to present us with "profound transformation", allowing us to move away from earlier notions of what constituted diasporas in a

global world, and to start to explore the transnational experiences of these diasporas in terms of their networks, linkages and relationships with homelands, host countries, other groups as well as within their own communities. Mass media, constructing “images, texts and sounds that mediate relationships within specific communities” as well as connections and communications among local, national and transnational spaces, play a crucial role in creating communication and links between populations which have settled in different places but with common references (Bailey et al., 2007: 3). In the multi-disciplinary field of mass communication research, the visibility and influence of the relationship between diaspora and the mass media has been discussed with diverse methods and derived from different academic paradigms. For this thesis, I particularly concentrate on literature about stereotypical and ideological representations of ethnic minority or diaspora people by the mass media, and the diasporic imagination via assumptions of diasporic media. Due to the fact that mainstream media tend to mis-represent or under-represent diaspora, the emergence of diasporic media is imperative. Diasporic media plays an important role in diasporic imagination of community and shaping diasporic consciousness of identity. \

### ***Representations of diaspora people in the mainstream media***

The mass media occupy a key role enabling us to make sense of the social world where every day events and ideologies are described and conveyed by written or other forms of language. Cottle (2000: 2) writes that one reason for studying media content is that it tells us about how we construct “a sense of us in relation to others” that are considered as different. From this point of view, social recognitions by the media are always associated with unequal power relations between similarity and difference, in and out groups, upper and under class. However, in contrast, the media can also identify and “affirm the social and cultural diversity”, giving some insights into situations of resistance, negotiation and transformation. Thus, it is through media representations that we form our views, attitudes and sense-making of power relationships between selves, others and living social contexts.

Over decades, a considerable body of research and literature tends to reveal stereotypical and ideological representation of diaspora people by the mass media. Under-representation, misrepresentation, and negative problem-oriented portrayal of the diaspora are recurring research findings, not to mention the structural inequalities and racism experiences of these diaspora. Much research has been conducted in both the United Kingdom and United States to examine the representations of ethnic minorities in mainstream media that are predominantly staffed by members of the dominant ethnic groups. Cottle (2000: 7-9) summarizes what he describes as, in general, depressing reading. In the late 1950s to 1970s, studies show that reports about immigrants in Britain were centered on the topics of “race riots” in Nottingham and Notting Hill in 1958 (Miles, 1984). The theme of racial tension and conflict gave rise to racism in the United Kingdom (Jackson, 1987). In the next decade, studies suggested that there was a significant shift in diasporic representation towards “criminalization” of black people in general (Gilroy, 1987), especially their deteriorating relations with police, “carnival riots” and “street violence”, as well as the attribution of “mugging” to racial crime (Hall et al, 1978). Throughout this decade, numerous scholars have “witnessed” and also criticized the mass media’s stereotypical representations of black people as “trouble-makers”, problem-oriented and “entertainers”. As Cottle (2000) notes, these studies provide us with evidence that the mainstream media in the UK and US have always tended to ignore ethnic minorities or to present them essentially in terms of the social problems they create for the majority.

Although these general findings above may indicate a relatively dominant view of stereotypical representation of ethnic and diaspora by the mass media, studies are now moving away to investigate historical processes of change and transformation. There are also a growing number of studies concerning the conditions of multiculturalism (Taylor, 1994), hybridization (Pieterse, 1995) and anti-racism (Werbner, 1997). The media presence of diaspora in recent years, limited but advancing, must be noted as well, “whether in respect of TV genres of light entertainment, comedy and advertising

in the UK, or successful ‘soaps’ based on black characters in the US, as well as in the commercial crossover of the ‘black culture industry’” (Cottle, 2000: 9). The above changes and transformations are also trends of diasporic representation by the mass media.

More recently, studies of diaspora and media have tended to pay more attention to the cultural field by following contemporary social theory, particularly by analyzing the textual and intertextual features, discourses and language, and discursive natures embedded within media representations (Mercer, 1994; Hall, 1997). Other studies also shed at least some light on resistance and challenges to dominant viewpoints produced by the mainstream media. However, this is not to say that stereotyped views about diaspora are not dominant in media representation any more, but rather that “media representations of ‘race’ are a product of social and discursive processes mediated through established cultural forms; they are not a foregone conclusion and they most certainly are not beyond challenge or change” (Cottle, 2000: 10). Today, the global and local developments of media technologies seem to offer even more possibilities and forms of media representations of diaspora people. As a result, the media landscape is fast changing nowadays. The spread of digital media, such as the internet, broadcasting, satellite and telecommunications, has challenged the political regulations, organizational structures and market proportions of media giants. Furthermore, these trends serve to proliferate media forms, increasing audience fragmentation, and the multiplicity of the media markets in and out of nations.

Within this context, diaspora people today can interact and communicate with new media forms including international telecommunications, audio and video cassettes, mobile phones, the World Wide Web and email, blogs and Facebook, digital cameras and personal computers. These new technological abilities to cross time and space may create new channels and opportunities for communications between relatively scattered diaspora, reinforcing existing networks and meanwhile exploring new social relationships. The unlimited “flows of information and ideas as well as the ritual

exchange of symbols and images” through new media technologies seem to contribute to constructing “imagined” - or a more recent term - “virtual” communities (Cottle, 2000: 3). This is even more significant in media forms that are initiated by diaspora because they are more likely to communicate with people of common cultural background and especially similar life experiences away from home.

### ***Emergence of diasporic media***

Due to the relative alienation from media production, negative imagery and media mythologizing, a certain degree of resilience among diaspora people seems to be imperative. Diasporic international movements have challenged prevailing media portrayals and fostered social, political and technological innovations. Besides the mainstream media, there stands a group of “diasporic media” that support everyday communications among diasporic communities, including the local diasporic press, radio, transnational TV channels, independent commercially-based television stations or companies, community-based diasporic online directories and websites. These diasporic media organizations try to survive between universalistic appeals and community-based expectations, but at the same time contribute to the multi-dimensional outputs of media forms in host markets and also to the community’s struggles for “authentic and pluralistic representations” (Cottle, 2000).

Diasporic media are characterized by a dramatic variation in scales of operation, by the specificity of intended audience, and by much more. Basically, diasporic media could be categorized into two major forms: transnational diasporic media, media from country of origin that use international telecommunication technologies; and local diasporic media, producing and operating in a host country. The expansion of international communications began from the 19th century, enabling colonial powers to extend their influence and control over empires through the medium of the telegraph. In the middle of the 20th century, technological developments in space, micro-electronics and computing have led to the second stage of international communication. The technologies facilitated the growth of global networks and

together with deregulation and liberalization in communications in the latter part of the 20th century were factors that added to the developments in global communications (Fazal, 2007: 42). Now a new order is emerging within the international communications arena, the transnational media order. As Chalaby (2005a) states:

A transnational media order is coming into being that is remapping media spaces and involving new media practices, flows and products. An international reach is no longer the preserve of Western-based conglomerates, as an increasing number of smaller media companies from the developing world are expanding overseas...

(p: 30)

Another diasporic media form which is mainly produced and operated in host countries is that belonging to usually commercial corporations aiming at maximizing audience and profit. Such media organizations are usually well-funded and their operations are basically similar to the mainstream media. Moreover, their contents are politically conservative; for instance the Arabic language press in France and Britain, black newspapers in Montreal, and SBS Chinese broadcasting programs in Australia (Downing and Husband, 2005). One particular case is a Spanish-language TV channel in the US owned by *Univisión*, the giant of Spanish-language television, currently with 409 affiliated stations (Riggins, 1992). All these diasporic media are to some degree contribute to a pluralizing dynamic. They may not do so on a permanent basis, due to the limitation of audiences and markets, but they have carved out communication spaces specifically targeted at diaspora and ethnic minority publics. Therefore, the diasporic media operations are flexible, they “can be local, national or global”; they can stick to old technologies, try new technologies, or combine both; they can be produced in the country the diaspora came from or in the country where they reside now; they can target at a “specific ethnic group or a collection of ethnic groups” (Downing and Husband, 2005: 57). Moreover, diasporic media with “flexible, mixed technologies, broadcast and publish material from different places around the



globe and experiment with their own identity as media and as representative cultural institutions of specific communities” (Georgiou, 2002: 17). The diverse forms of diasporic media activity have been recognized in many nations that and significantly complicate the national communication picture. Questions of diasporic identities, of “migrants”, “refugees” and “aboriginal peoples” rights, of the considerable range of diasporic situations, and not least of varying the response to white racism, all jockey for position in such media (Downing and Husband, 2005).

Therefore, although the mainstream media have tended either to misrepresent or ignore diaspora, in response there are reactions of affirmation in the way members of diaspora have taken the media into their own hands. However, is it possible that diasporic media could increase a diaspora’s participation in the mainstream while developing its own media outlets? Diaspora are using satellite, digital, cable and other technologies to strengthen their culturally and linguistically diverse voices and disseminate information to a rapidly expanding global audience. They are finding ways simultaneously to maintain or restore particular languages and cultures, while working across cultural and linguistic boundaries to promote common objectives and interests (Alia and Bull, 2005). Diasporic media’s symbolic presence within a western media scape destabilizes the dominant hierarchies of control over cultural resources, and the diversification and proliferation of media productions can offer new possibilities for diasporic expression and representation, constructing specific sense-making of the self and belonging to a community. From this perspective,

diasporic media cultures become strategic positions for self-expression and representation. Diasporic media are not set points of difference; their role and their significance to audience and users are conditional and shaped within wider societal and communication processes

(Bailey, 2007: 2).

The diasporic media can be also seen as one form of “transnational activity” (that I discussed in the last section) as they are organized networks of diaspora across

national borders. These networks can link the social practices and relationships of both host and home countries. Moreover, through the diaspora's daily consumption of diasporic media, various social relationships can be sustained, reinforced and developed, creating a specific transnational way of life.

### ***Diasporic imagination and the role of diasporic media***

The connections between “diasporic media” and “diasporic imagination” are intriguing realms attracting a considerable amount of scholarly attention. Much literature around these two notions can be a reference point for the study of Chinese diasporic media in New Zealand that follows. What roles do the Chinese-language media play for Chinese diaspora in New Zealand? When Chinese diaspora are communicating via Chinese-language media, do the diasporic media construct an imagined Chinese community? To answer these questions, a review and application of the concept of “imagined community” is essential.

### ***Imagined community***

Imagined community, conceptualized by Anderson (1983) in his reflections on the origins of nationalism, refers to a congeniality of language, ethos and culture shared by a group of people, no matter how geographically disconnected they can be. Anderson's explanation of the “imagined community” is exemplified as follows:

Why is this man doing what I am doing, uttering the same words that I am uttering, even though we can not talk to one another?

(1983: 55)

The notion of imagined community is contextualized by Anderson in discussion of the way the “divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm” was undermined by the reformation. Anderson argues that the Church hierarchy of Latin which constructed the imagined community of Christendom was gradually de-constructed by the rise of vernaculars. Print-capitalism played a decisive role in this process by promoting

vernaculars and ultimately, national consciousness. Equally important in the formation of modern nationhood is language and it is essentially the spread of vernaculars - languages - that really matter. Language is therefore believed by Anderson to be able to generate imagined communities, and to build in effect particular solidarities. Thus, Anderson puts it poetically:

Through that language (he or she is born with), encountered at mother's knee and parted with only at the grave, pasts are restored, fellowships are imagined, and futures dreamed

(1983: 140)

Two factors highlighted by Anderson, media and language, converge in the discussion on diaspora and media culture. "Media images can connect local experiences with each other and hence provide powerful sources of hermeneutic interpretation to make sense of what would otherwise be disparate and apparently unconnected events and phenomena" (Urry, 2000: 180). Diasporic media can further support "the development of imagined presence, of non-national communities of sentiment and interpretation" (Gilroy, 1995: 17).

As numerous studies of media and diaspora have shown, in the media commonality is not only imagined, but also negotiated and contested. The media participate in sustaining imagined commonality, but they also advance processes of critical and reflexive engagement with imagined communities - national and transnational ones. Imagination, through mediation, turns abstractions and ideologies of identity and community into familiar, intimate and sensual references (Anderson, 1983). But imagination is also a product of those repertoires that are circulated across networks and in transnational communities. Increasingly, imagination, cultural life and mediation become tightly interlinked in the processes of globalization - especially the intense mobility of people, ideas, images and sounds. Therefore, transnational media have offered alternative "outlets and means for transporting and translating ideologies and cultural repertoires beyond bounded physical places" (Bailey, et al., 2007: 3).

### *The role of diasporic media*

Due to increasing imagination and representation generated by media, it is likely in return for the media to continuously shape the scenario of “identity” and “diasporic consciousness” (Georgiou, 2002). Most studies indicate that the media are recognized as key factors in constructing diasporic identity and imagining community. Diasporic media under this reasoning could authentically represent the diasporic self, the diasporic group and the country of origin. Today diasporic communication is manifested through a variety of community media forms (Dayan, 1998); Diasporic communication is also bringing about great changes to various diasporic communities, at different aspects of social practices, across time and space (Bhabha, 1996). The physical contacts, face-to-face interactions, and word of mouth communications are giving way to interactions through new communication technologies that allow contacts, information, sounds and images that transcend time and space.

Drawn from the above literature, the landscape of diasporic media seems to be complex, multiple and dynamic which poses challenges to scholars who are interested in addressing characteristics of this media form. So Husband et al. (2000) argue that it is almost impossible to address each aspect of diasporic media or give any “all-inclusive conclusion” about their features, especially their implications for diasporic identity performances, community building and sense-making processes. However, Georgiou (2002) notes that the only feature that all diasporic media have in common is that they all create an imagination of belonging to “a specific community” and “sharing a specific ethnicity” for their communication participants. Besides that, diasporic media are characterized by “extensive diversity”. Therefore, according to Georgiou’s schema (2002: 17), diasporic media:

- might have audiences in local, national or global
- can be produced and operated in home country or the host country
- might be commercial, community, public, municipal or other organizations’ initiatives

--their output can be in the ethnic language, in the language of the country of settlement or in a combination of both

--their contents can be information-centered or entertainment-centered or both

--their contents might relate to the country of origin, country of settlement, the local, national or global

--can adapt a role as the mouthpiece of a community or identity as independent and commercial institutions

--might address the audiences of first migrant generations, new generations or short-term transient diaspora (e.g. international students)

The above multiple characteristics are crucial for understanding the role that diasporic media play in shaping diasporic identity and community building, raising the question, for instance, could continuous consumption of diasporic media assist or resist social participation and marginalization? This list serves as a starting point in thinking through the particularity of the relationship between diasporic identity and consumption of diasporic media.

Today diaspora are changing rapidly and so are emerging diasporic media, so diasporic characteristics need to be explored afresh. Gaps found in the literature about diaspora and the media can be summarized as:

- a. Discussion on the contemporary relationships between diasporic communities and their engagement with host countries is not prevalent.
- b. There is a lack of study on the diversity of diasporic media, particularly about their productions, characteristics and roles in identity construction, community building and social participation.
- c. The literature on diaspora tends to focus on the recognition of multiple identities and exposure to diverse culture, while few researches are on the constitutions of these multiple identities, let alone the process in which diasporic identities are constantly shaped by global changes.
- d. Although questions of identity and difference have been prevalent in debates

about the media and culture, the fluidity, dynamics and hybridity of diasporic identity have not been thoroughly investigated.

This thesis is an attempt to fill at least some of the space listed above. To explore the particularity of diasporic identities via diasporic media, I propose Chinese diaspora in New Zealand as a promising case study. By empirical study of online discourse produced by the Chinese virtual community in a transnational network in New Zealand - [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz) - this thesis qualitatively analyzes distinctive features of identity construction and community building among Chinese diaspora online. Particular attention has been devoted to how Chinese diaspora exhibit a hybrid cultural identity and are also involved in a continuous negotiation process. Today diasporic imagination and identity are even more complex; shaped by new technology and media forms. The internet, more convenient, easier to get access to, and without restrictions of time and space, is gradually changing the diasporic media landscape and offering new possibilities of identity performance. The following section focuses on discussion about diaspora and internet communications.

## **2.2 Literature review on diaspora and the internet**

As discussed in the previous chapter, diasporic media users tend to play a variety of roles in diasporic overseas experiences, especially in seeking diverse and dynamic ways to adapt to a new society and meanwhile maintain their original cultural identity (Karim, 1998; Hiller and Franz, 2004; Mitra, 2005; Georgiou, 2006a; Elias, 2008). Today the development of communication technology, especially the proliferation of internet communication, has aroused the attention of many diaspora and media studies scholars. New forms of media mean potential new research opportunities. For example, many diasporic websites have discussion forums, chat rooms or BBS where users can carry out an “ongoing conversation” by posting messages. Mitra (1996: 52) argued that studying the discussion forums could allow us to investigate “the

changing nature of the community” in that the information contained by forum postings could possibly reveal “how the discussions proceed through a discursive process” in which participants communicate with each other, expressing views about everyday events, and thereby “collectively producing a portrait of the virtual community”. Because of the internet’s distinct features, particularly its accessibility, asynchronism, anonymity and cultural diversity, it may offer more possibilities in research on digital media and social changes, especially the way networks are formed. The ability to exchange messages with people in almost every corner of the world and the relatively easier access to community information specifically enhances the diverse linkages among diaspora.

While some recent research suggests that the internet, like most traditional media forms, may have great influence in the process of diaspora cultural adaptation and identity construction, the following chapter will try to explore the formation and characteristic of a diasporic network, in order to enrich previous understandings of the roles of diasporic media. Furthermore, through discussions on a specific ethnic group located in a specific country, this chapter also examines whether the Chinese diasporic network in New Zealand can best be understood within frameworks developed out of existing theories of diasporic and transnational media, in terms of the role of the internet in a Chinese diaspora’s adaptation to a host society, involving negotiation of new identity and maintenance of the original culture.

### 2.2.1 Understanding internet communication

With global and local development in the media environment and new technologies, the mass media landscape today is changing rapidly, giving rise to diverse forms of media output and input, circulation and consumption. In this era with new media technologies and multiple channels, the popularity of internet communication has facilitated new social networks construction where “like-minded” people are more

likely to interact, connect and support mutually across physical time and space (Rheingold, 2002). More specifically, this cyberspace is a “worldwide computer” in which “mediated communication networks” with shared languages and images, “friendships and power relations” are manifested (Wong, 2003: 9). While some theorists argue that the internet may provide an alternative information and social network that bonds its participants together as a community, the basic question in new media studies may be better expressed as: what are the characteristics of the internet compared with traditional media forms and why is internet communication so special?

One of the compelling characteristics of internet communication coming to mind immediately is its transformative ability to transcend space and time. However, theorists argue that the internet also reinforces physical contacts among communities that already existed in the real world before. In either case, frequent internet communications conducted by virtual communities do have the “potential of not only linking people but also bonding them and creating emotional ties” (Baym, 1995; Hiller and Franz, 2004; Haythornthwaite, 2005). Whether these linkages and relations are ever based on geographical location and physical time is a question. As Goldenberg and Levy (2009) contend, for instance, geography always seems to be irrelevant when interacting in cyberspace.

Research suggests internet communication can support development of physically existing social relationships. For instance, Blanchard and Horan (1998) found that “physically-based virtual communities” are generally built on “community structures” in the real world, such as common work institutions, schools or departments and so forth. Hampton and Wellman (1999) again argue that internet communication could strengthen contacts within neighborhoods. Moreover, Wellman and Gulia’s (1999) study suggests that frequent face-to-face interaction can reinforce internet contacts as well. Drawn from the above studies, internet communication and face-to-face interaction seem to be mutually reinforcing. Internet communication could intensify physically-based interactions or work as the motivation of interaction in the real



world.

Another significant feature of internet communication is that it is “disembodied” and “asynchronous”(Hiller and Franz, 2004). The internet can be accessible across national borders and time zones. With this distinctive character, online communication and community construction are often based on common interest, rather than any forms of connections that existed in the physical world before (Alstytne and Brynjolfsson, 1996; Dertouzas, 1997; Meyrowitz, 1985). Scholars interested in online communities have often addressed issues of gender, race, identity, or different diasporic groups (Ebo, 1998; Mitra, 2001; Parker and Song, 2006; Elias and Lemish, 2009). Online communities can also be understood as “role to role communities of like-minded people”, initiated by whatever interests them (Wellman, 2001). Celebrity fans are another form of a virtual community that can be built on a regularly viewing basis, following any movies, TV programmes or soap operas in which a celebrity performs. Although the people of such an online community do not always know each other in the real world, the shared interest bonds them together online. In this way, internet communication could create new relationships and ties that did not exist in the physical world, which has linked people who might be dispersed in real time and space. It is also able to maintain and reinforce these online relationships even without offline contacts (Baym, 1995).

The above identification of both “physically-based virtual communities” and “interest-based virtual communities” might be significant, but the real situation is sometimes a blend of the two. In other words, the reason people are likely to have common interests may be due to their common places of living or shared identity based on those common places, without needing “actual contact in real life” (Hiller and Franz, 2004). For example, a particular first generation ethnic group scattered around the globe may not know each other before they left their home country, but it is due to their shared birthplace or living experience in that territory that lead to the shared interests and construction of an interest-based virtual community. Another

example is the virtual community constituted by injured workers in the United States (Hiller and Franz, 2004). For these injured workers, it is likely that they are interested in contacting other injured peers globally, but it is more likely they have interests in connecting with ones who work in the United States since they are in “the similar politico-legal” context. So, we could find plenty of evidence that interest-based virtual communities are often characterized by shared physical locations whether or not needing actual contacts in the real world.

While research on “cyberspace” signals earlier ideas on internet communication, more empirical studies tend to focus on roles that communities and identities play and use the term “social network” instead. For instance, Agre writes that “so long as we focus on the limited areas of the internet where people engage in fantasy play that is intentionally disconnected from their real world identities, we miss how social and professional identities are continuous across several media, and how people use several media to develop their identities in ways that carry over to other settings” (2004: 416). More recent studies attempt to investigate how internet communication can shape previous social relationships and forms (Howard and Jones, 2004; Bakardjieva, 2005). However, for Wellman (2001) the internet’s ability to connect across space facilitates greater “personalization”, rather than demonstrating collective activities; thus, communities turn out to be “person-to-person interchanges”, a “networked individualism”. Although these studies including the “individualized society” (Bauman, 2001; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2001) and the “network society” (Castells, 2000 and 2001; Barney, 2004) have made good points on depicting social changes brought about by the internet, such emphasis may at the same time neglect the importance of collective online experiences of large-scale social groups. Then questions arising from the literature include: whether large-scale social groups’ internet communications have significant impacts on group members; and if so, what kind of social changes might such collective internet activity bring about?

By contrast, the current research addresses the significance and feature of collective

experiences on the internet - diasporic internet communication, which emphasizes the transformation of group identities. As discussed in Chapter 2, diaspora have formed a specific group of people who move away from home where they have deep-rooted memories while settle down in a new country where everything needs to be restarted. The geographic location of home may be inseparable from personal identity because it can produce a strong sense of belonging and can further serve as a defining characteristic for community building (Jacobsen, 2002). Therefore, for diasporic internet communication, place and interest can blend in a significant way. Studying diasporic users of online community media can tell us something about how the particular experience of the global that characterizes diasporic groups intersects with the community-formation affordances of online networks.

### 2.2.2 Diaspora online

The study of diasporic internet communication is particularly noteworthy because the development of diasporic network and online relationships is one of the fastest growing of all. The prosperity of internet interactions might offer new possibilities for connecting scattered people around the globe to their country of origin and creating certain relationships with other diasporic community members. The internet is believed to be crucial and necessary to deal with the “friction of distance” (Hiller and Franz, 2004), the relationship between internet communication and transnational communities and the roles the internet plays for diaspora people are becoming key questions to researchers.

#### *The intersection of diaspora and the internet*

For diaspora people, moving from place of origin to destination used to mean breaking from formal social relationships and cultural background due to the shortage of efficient methods of communication, especially for long-distance diaspora. Return visits, regular phone calls and letters were available choices but often burdensome and

very expensive. It is within this context that descriptions such as “uprooted”, “transplanted” and “culture shock” slowly gained traction in academic debates, and “assimilation” and “integration” were expected, since leaving home to settle in other places indicated seeking a new life style and new cultural identities (Hiller and Franz, 2004). However, more recently, as Castles and Davidson argue (2000), identification of the “transnational community” has challenged the traditional idea that moving overseas means breaking formal social relationships at home. Diaspora are now tending to keep strong ties to their home countries, and meanwhile seeking and building a range of new social relationships (Cohen, 1997; Van Hear, 1998; Faist, 2000; Sheffer, 2003). Boundaries of territory seem to be more permeable and markers of community are more blurred and may have “both local and translocal dimension” (Jacobsen, 2002). More importantly, one accelerator facilitating this transformation is the development in communication channels and forms. Thus, it is not only possible for diaspora to return home “more often for real visits” (via modern transportation, e.g. international flights), but it is also possible for them to keep various contacts with home by “virtual visits” (Hiller and Franz, 2004). More recently, internet communication has tended to play an important role in sustaining contacts to diaspora homelands. As discussed in the last section, due to the internet’s characteristics, internet communication is more likely to serve the diaspora’s need to keep continuous contact with home and thereby forming an interesting situation, which has drawn much attention from scholars in media, culture and diasporic studies.

Diasporic groups today are making extensive use of the internet to allow easier and more frequent contacts with other members of communities settling around the globe. Diaspora people use the internet, on the one hand, to learn appropriate forms of behavior in the host countries to assist them to participate effectively in the host society. On the other hand, they learn to form various ties and a sense of belonging with their homeland and other diaspora through reconstructing their space and place. Hence it is the technology of the internet that offers such opportunity, overcoming economic barriers and those of traditional technology (as related to earlier modes of

mass communication) with relative ease to build various forms of online communities and produce a distinct point of view. It is due to distinct cultural, ethnic, political or religious features of different diasporic groups that their internet communications are multiple and distinctive.

### ***Use of the internet***

The uses of the internet are multiple and serve diaspora participants as important means to communicate their transnational experiences. According to Hiller and Franz (2004), the purposes of using the internet can be divided into three categories due to different migrant phases. In their study on internet communication among “internal/domestic migrants in Canada” from 1996 to 2001, Hiller and Franz said the first migrant phase is people who have not yet gone overseas and stay in their home of origin but have the possibility and intention to move out. They are searching the internet typically for information that: a) may support them to make the final decision to move; or b) may assist in the actual move (information about destination, connection or linkage with people in destination, etc.) if the decision to move out has already been made. The second group is people who have already moved to a destination that is away from their place of origin but have been in the new place less than five years. “Five years is a somewhat arbitrary timeframe” that suggests a “reasonable period of adaptation”, as stated by Hiller and Franz (2004: 737). The reasons diaspora search the internet during this phase can be understood as maintaining home contacts and searching for useful information to enable adaptation to the host country. The last group of people has resided in the host country for more than five years and their intentions may be to revive aspects of home culture and establish new contacts with other diaspora members (Hiller and Franz, 2004: 736-738). Of course this classification of diaspora people is applicable to the specific circumstance, internal diaspora in Canada; however, it may still help to understand the situation of different diaspora groups in different locations and even the global diaspora as a whole.

Hiller and Franz further (2004) discussed four categories of internet practices, “search tools, email, bulletin board systems (BBS) and chat rooms” which are key components of an established “computer-supported social network” (Wellman, 1999), and are used by diaspora. The search engine is basically a purposive tool to seek information by browsing a range of websites. Email seems a replacement to the traditional mailing letter constituting one private form of computer-mediated communication, since email is “free of the limitations of time and space” that allows “messages sent and received at anytime from anywhere” (2004: 736). BBS are also free of the limitations of time and space as “messages can be posted for a long time and have large browsers”, but it is more a public space because anyone who logs onto the relevant webpage is able to see the content. Finally, chat rooms, more recently known as forums, are continuous and discursive discussions “organized by certain topics or themes”. The discussions run in real time and will go on “as long as the participant is in the room” (Hiller and Franz, 2004: 736-737). Obviously, these four categories don’t include all internet usage by diaspora, but they are basic and representative usages identified by researchers, which may also provide certain frameworks for the current study.

According to the above findings, Hiller and Franz concluded that three main types of relationships are built, maintained and promoted by diasporic online interactions: “new ties”, “old ties” and “lost ties” (2004). New ties refer to establishing new relationships in which the internet is extremely useful because it could serve as a medium for relocation and adjustment, for example, finding houses and valuable tips on living in host countries and making new friends at the destination as well as new friends from the same origin. Old ties mean sustaining old contacts that diaspora tend to use to sustain identification with their home community (Hiller and Franz, 2004).

Therefore, the internet works as a very effective way of interacting among diasporic groups and provides the possibility of developing different kinds of relationships. It is also necessary to point out that not all diaspora people use the internet to

communicate, and even when they are interacting online, the uses of the internet are varied. Moreover, diasporic internet usage may change in each migrant phase, reflecting diverse transnational experiences. This study helps us identify that usage of the internet by diasporic groups shouldn't be seen as homogenous but as a range of uses, and that the internet needs to be seen too as a range of media forms.

### ***Diasporic network and virtual community***

The internet is believed to offer more convenient access, diverse cultural options, impartial interaction, and relatively cheap cost. Wong (2003) argues that, as a result, diasporic groups tend to reconstruct and reproduce an intended system of social and cultural organizations where they find commonality of origins, shared culture, transnational lives, common goals and desires. Diasporic networks today are creating and maintaining various relationships among global individuals, communities, institutions and companies. For instance, some sites have hyperlinks to other diasporic sites in different countries which tend to establish a kind of network within a diasporic community dispersed around the globe; some commercially-based sites also provide yellow page services, business directories and online advertisements; merely targeted at local diaspora members and facilitating business contacts within the local community. The availability of bilingual or multilingual versions of online news on current events both in the home and host countries enables the diversity of choice, helping the diaspora adaptation process. Such global online technologies offer specific advantages for reinforcing the linkages among diaspora people. So, it is as Wong says that diaspora people can shape the media for what they need.

The theorists may agree that one reason for diaspora people to use the internet is to make sense of connectivity and belonging within a specific community due to their unique transnational way of life. Thus, Miller and Slater argue (2000) that one of the most significant features of online communication is that it creates and maintains a "digital diaspora" with shared belonging to one ethnic community, as "new communitarians". Are all diaspora people sensitive about their distinct status of being

away from a home which features prominently in their memories still; or is the situation different for different diaspora groups in different locations? Of course not all diaspora have such feelings, but for those who closely relate to their homeland, the internet is particularly useful in meeting the desire of connectivity (Miller and Slater, 2000). For example, viewing photos of home, family and friends and talking through webcams enhances the vividness of the online experience for diasporic media audiences. Thus, it may be that the special characteristics of diaspora make them more likely to become involved in online communities, as they may sometimes feel isolated, or even marginalized in the country of settlement. “Instead of being the alien outsider in a strange land”, the online community creates a place in which the diaspora claim their belongingness and membership to “a shared community” (Hiller and Franz, 2004: 747). Also, the ability to exchange messages with other members of a diaspora in the same place or in different places of the world, together with the available access to community information, makes the situation of diaspora more fluid and dynamic, allowing for building and developing multi-dimensional relationships among community (Karim, 1998). Hence, with its ability to connect many individuals interactively across great distances, the internet serves as a place for scattered diasporic groups wishing to maintain their identities and work in solidarity with other members of community.

And so, an online diasporic community is being formed in cyberspace which can establish different kinds of relationships. Mitra (1997a) argues that “the notion of virtual or electronic community is more pertinent when speaking either of a free-net that networks a particular geographic locality or a diasporic group that is linked together by more than a single issue, sharing a symbolic universe that includes a broad variety of cultural markers” (Mitra, 1997a: 55-56). Whether this cyberspace is Anderson’s “imagined community” might be further discussed, but it does create the imagination. Furthermore, the group identity presented in this space is not the past one, but in more fluid and hybrid forms, that is, the mixture of the old relationships, the new social ties, negotiated life experiences in the host society as well as



communication with other individuals/groups in the host country (Karim, 1998). It explicitly reinforces the idea of “hybridization” in global immigration raised by Pieterse. As I discussed in the previous chapter, a significant phenomenon of globalization identified by Pieterse (1995) is hybridity as migration *mélange*. In this context, diaspora people may display mixed cultural patterns, for example, a mix of a home culture and language and a host culture. The hybridity of diasporic identity is promoted by diverse globalizing agents and transnational networks through which diaspora combine with new identity forms in new social practices.

### ***Debates on the role of the internet***

A growing body of current research finds that the internet offers diaspora various types of information needed for adaptation and tends to play multiple roles in diasporic identity formation (Karim, 1998; Melkote and Liu, 2000; Hiller and Franz, 2004; Arnold and Schneider, 2007; Elias and Lemish, 2009). The internet is thus argued to work as providing places of resocialization and acculturation, space for mutual support and expression, an alternative channel for interacting with local peers, a way for preserving original culture and a site for exploring new life style and identity formation in a host society.

One significant aspect of the internet’s function is that it could serve as an agent to help diaspora to learn about the host society in their first years of relocation. One of the first steps in adjusting to a new place, is the need to learn appropriate forms of behavior, such as everyday language, local cultures of food or clothes, and so forth. In this regard, the internet is helpful for diaspora in decreasing their “cultural shock” and as a source for information or directories on local society and the experiences of local life. Elias and Lemish (2009) find that compared with all other media forms, such as TV stations, radios, newspapers or magazines, the internet is “the one cited most often and elaborated upon as the major source of valuable information” for learning new social norms by young immigrants from the former Soviet Union to Israeli. Moreover, due to the lack of language and cultural knowledge, these former Soviet Union

adolescents prefer to search the websites that are presented in the home language, and particularly those with practical information of various aspects of social life in the country they now reside in.

Furthermore, there is evidence that the internet could serve as a tool for a diaspora's social empowerment. Because of the lack of relevant language and culture knowledge, unfamiliarity about appropriate local behavior, or sometimes even due to the shortage of economic resources, it might be common for diaspora in their initial stage of settlement to feel inferior, unsuccessful and unconfident towards local residents. Georgiou's (2006b) study of diasporic online interaction in the United Kingdom is an example that supports this view. Georgiou finds that the internet is particular useful and important for small diasporic communities in the United Kingdom which are unfamiliar with local cultural, economic and political knowledge since the internet can offer relevant information and resources for their survival in the host country. It is also noteworthy that the internet is more like "an emotional shelter" - a space where views and experiences are shared in public or the community - concerning issues relating to the diaspora's unlucky stories, painful experiences, challenges, confusions and numerous losses, which are otherwise unknown to the public. The internet is thus contributing to the diasporic social empowerment by providing a space for emotional support. Similarly, Elias and Lemish (2009) also find that parallel to using the internet to assist their adaptation into the host country, the younger immigrants surf the net to strengthen original cultural identity in order to "gain better social status" in the new society. This was due to the young immigrants' "self-esteem" and "confidence" being hurt by some "offensive reaction or even ejection" by local people, and they "wished to emphasize their cultural superiority over local Israelis" through using various websites originating in the home country (2009: 542-543).

In addition, current studies reveal that the internet also helps diaspora to establish online and offline relationships with ethnic peers. For example, Hiller and Franz (2004) identify three ties established through the internet; developing new ties to find

new relationships with people who share a common heritage; sustaining old ties to maintain identification with the home community; rediscovering lost ties to reconnect with people through search engines, message boards, guest lists and chat rooms. Indeed, a diasporic network enhances multiplicity by promoting a distinctive sense of belonging to a particular ethnic community since it supports and maintains various “ethnic ties” (Wellman and Haythornthwaite, 2008; Mesch, 2012).

Theorists also contend that diasporic websites fulfill an important role in diaspora seeking a new cultural identity but in the meanwhile maintaining the old one. In Mitra’s (1997a: 63) study of a United States based Indian portal website that offers historical and cultural resources about India, she states that “the identity that emerges on the network is a synthesis of the prior affiliations and allegiances and the new one that is found in the new space”. Thus, Mitra argues the diasporic network not only helps to preserve original cultural identity, but also may reevaluate Indian identity in the diaspora. Likewise, Kozar (2002) reveals that the Canada based Chinese online “literary periodicals” tend to promote traditional Chinese cultural values by orienting them “in the new social and cultural surroundings”.

However, studies by Elias and Zeltser (2006) are partially different to the above. Through an online survey targeting web-users of Russian-language websites based in Germany, Israel and the United States, Elias and Zeltser find that on the one hand, the majority of the participants “expressed feelings of greater affinity for other Russians”, wherever they resided, than for people from the new society. On the other hand, the findings did not show that diasporic networks among the community gave rise to their “social alienation”, as argued by some scholars (see e.g. Yelenevskaya, 2005). They also find that more than half of the participants claim that they had built various relationships with local residents, and believe it is necessary to “keep up-to-date on current events in the host country”.

It is interesting to note from the literature; although the scholars all shared the same

point that “internet communication plays an important role for diaspora identity formations”, the findings were still partially different on what kind of identity they have formed. It may be because different diasporic groups have different attitudes towards the transnational way of life; it may also be because the situations in host countries are various, such as political environment, immigration policy and cultural background. Moreover, it has to be acknowledged that even for the same global diasporic group the situation will still be varied due to different local and translocal environments. This point echoes the discussion earlier that identities of diasporic communities are often perceived to be fluid, syncretic, crossover, and hybrid, which makes it difficult to draw all-inclusive conclusions about their identity constructions. Hence, in order to describe the broader picture of diasporic identities, we need to study as many diasporic groups in different locations as we can to update the existing literature. The lack of specific theoretical models on Chinese diasporic identities and the relatively well-developed diasporic networks of the Chinese community in New Zealand makes me expect New Zealand to be a promising site for studying diasporic identity. Hence, the current research concentrates on internet communication for a specific diasporic group in a specific location - Chinese diaspora in New Zealand - attempting to find out whether there are different identity processes via the internet for Chinese diaspora in NZ compared with previous studies.

### 2.2.3 Chinese diaspora and media

It is almost impossible to ascertain the population size of Chinese overseas because few countries have kept reliable statistics on them and because the term “Chinese overseas” is very difficult to define. In mainland China, terms *HuaQiao* and *HuaRen* have been used in the academic and official discourse of Chinese overseas. *HuaQiao* refers to overseas Chinese citizens or Chinese sojourners overseas. *HuaRen*, which literally means Chinese persons, actually connotes foreign citizens of Chinese origin or ancestry (Yang, 2005). With *HuaRen* outnumbering *HuaQiao* and becoming

commonplace as overseas Chinese, it is increasingly argued that the dichotomy of *HuaQiao* and *HuaRen*, especially *HuaQiao*, is out of date. More recently, this dichotomy is resolved by the term Chinese diaspora.

Chinese diaspora and communities are found in almost every country of the world and the size and geographic distribution in the old diaspora differ significantly from those estimated for the new diasporic era in 1997. According to Ma and Cartier (2003: 19), the total number of global Chinese diaspora “increased from 12.7 million (including 3.2 million in Hong Kong) in 1963 to 32.8 million (excluding Hong Kong) in 1997”. Although “the majority of the Chinese diaspora” still reside in Southeast Asia, Asia’s global percentage “declined from 99.6% to 77.7%”. On the other hand, European countries, North America and Oceania all gained in number substantially, due largely to wars in Southeast Asia that sent many Chinese from Indochina to the Netherlands and France, however some moved from Hong Kong and Taiwan heading to Canada, the US, Australia and New Zealand after relaxation of immigration policies from the 1960s to 1980s. Combined with increased globalization of production and China’s reforming and opening policy in 1978, more and more Chinese people have been attracted to other countries. The US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand have since become the most dynamic centers of transnational in-migration for Chinese people and these countries have played a key role in reshaping the social characteristics of the new diaspora.

### ***Global Chinese diasporic media sphere***

The global Chinese diasporic mediasphere nowadays has become even more complex and fluid and thus needs re-evaluation of its forms and scales.

It is a widely held and largely uncontested view that the formation and sustenance of any given collective Chinese identity outside China usually requires the healthy and continuous functioning of three institutions. They are: Chinese social and business networks in the form of a chamber of commerce, origin-specific associations, clans and kinship organizations; an education

system that permits or even supports Chinese-language schools; and a Chinese-language media industry with sizeable circulation or ratings figures and some claim to community representation.

(Sun, 2006: 3)

Sun refers to three criteria that define the distinct characteristics of Chinese diasporic identity and her viewpoint is particularly useful in that she addresses the Chinese-language media as essential in constructing identity for Chinese diaspora. As I mentioned previously, diasporic media can open up new possibilities for self-expression and self-representation; thus creating a specific sense of imagining and belonging. This imagination and belongingness is founded on diaspora's common "ideologies and cultural repertoires" that point to their distinct identity.

It is also an equally widely-held-albeit less elaborated - assumption that the above "three pillars" (Suryadinata, 1997: 12) of any given diasporic Chinese community often exist in conjunction with one another. The cumulative strength that comes from the smooth working of such contiguous and combinatory relationships among these three institutions in a mainstream, non-Chinese host culture and society has manifested time and again, in a variety of contexts and circumstances (Sun, 2006).

The Chinese-language media have, for instance, adopted an assertive and sometimes even combative position at different historical junctures when the legitimacy of Chinese cultural traditions or everyday practices has been called into question. This is seen in the way Chinese people use their media to fight against adverse media representation. For example, in 2002, the "British Born Chinese website" was engaged in "a series of formal complaints against a national newspaper", when *Daily Mail* (UK) "published a vitriolic attack on Chinese food" (Parker & Song, 2006). Another example of the positive impact of local Chinese media was probably the 1995 Epsom Normal Primary School Controversy in New Zealand (Pang, 2003). When a popular school attempted to exclude the children of new arrivals on account of their lack of English skills, the local Chinese newspapers and radio kept reporting

the issue during weeks of public debate and protest about this racist move, playing an important role in getting new immigrant parents informed and galvanizing their response into an effective movement and a strong power of opposition. Conversely, there is also ample evidence whereby a given Chinese community finds itself unable to assert its rightful place in a mainstream society and culture due to either a systematic abolition or suppression of these three institutions - the Chinese in Indonesia under the Suharto and Sukarno regimes immediately comes into mind (Tan, 1997).

While it is long established that media are an important pillar, the size and nature of that pillar can be expected to be rapidly changing, given what I have argued earlier in the chapter. In recent decades, we have witnessed unpredictable and irregular movements of people across the globe. Alongside the flow of people and money, the traffic of Chinese-language media and cultural products across the borders of these countries and regions has increased both in quantity and more multidirectionally, forming a truly global diasporic Chinese mediasphere (Sun, 2006). Media images, in the form of films, TV, DVD, radio and more recently the internet, have also proliferated and multiplied, reinforcing, destabilizing and challenging prior understandings of what it means to be Chinese.

Mention diasporic Chinese media and what springs to mind immediately is the proliferation of Chinese-language newspapers published in various main cities of the world. Today, the print media is still dominant in the global diasporic Chinese mediasphere. Their production and consumption are location-bound and thus highly place-specific. This spatial specificity allows individuals regularly and even predictably to imagine themselves to be members of a diasporic Chinese community (Ma and Cartier, 2003). In recent decades, however, we have witnessed a noticeable change in this pattern, due to the unstoppable emergence of electronic media, including films, television programs, videos and music; transported by technologies such as the satellite, the internet and other forms of more personalized mobile

technologies. Sudden change has come not only with the multiplication of new and electronic media forms, but the simultaneous and equally unpredictable and irregular movements of migrants across the globe. In most countries and regions, “high-tech” and “new media” Chinese–language or Chinese–content cultural products only add to, rather than replace, long-existing Chinese language print media, which includes dailies, weeklies and magazines, and which are already extremely diverse in terms of content, audience, ideological lookout and cultural affinity. While the diasporic Chinese mediascape may have become, in Appadurai’s words, unstable and irregular, due to the fluid and deterritorialized global media and communication technologies, such a rupture nevertheless brings the promise of a “postnational” or/and transnational Chinese imagination (1996). This is not to say that it is impossible to study the global Chinese mediasphere as a whole, however, it is rather to say that it is more helpful to emphasize the fluidity of media images, formats and practices in a given context. Therefore, capturing the new trends of Chinese media in New Zealand could be a very good angle as it is the study of one ethnic group in a particular cultural context, thereby contributing to the existing literature on media and diasporic communities.

As a consequence of explosive development in the global Chinese mediasphere, Chinese people now living in most cities with a sizeable Chinese population in many countries can expect to be exposed to a multitude of Chinese–language media outlets, catering to specific and niche needs of each of the respective Chinese groups (Sun, 2006). In addition, most Chinese migrants now have access to Chinese-language and cultural products that are produced by and for diasporic Chinese communities elsewhere. Furthermore, due to the spread of satellite television and the internet, an increasing number of Chinese communities outside China can view news, current affairs and entertainment programs from their “homeland”.

Therefore, one everyday practice of being Chinese that is available to Chinese residents in other countries, besides eating Chinese food and speaking the Chinese language, is consumption of accessible Chinese-language media and cultural products.



On a daily basis, Chinese diaspora can maintain their Chineseness through a range of choices they make in media consumption (Sun, 2006). For instance, grabbing a Chinese newspaper (free of charge) from any Chinese butcher's shop, grocery store or restaurant, watching channels from Chinese television by installing a satellite dish on the roof, contacting families and friends in China via email, MSN, Skype or QQ (only popular in China, functioning the same as MSN), are various ways of maintaining Chineseness. Confronted with many media choices, the dilemma is not whether Chinese diaspora can continue to be Chinese in another country; rather, it is how Chinese or what kind of Chinese they want to be.

As a first step towards addressing this concern, from a media perspective, I argue that an understanding of a truly transnational Chinese imagination and a knowledge of Chineseness and identity would help to answer the question.

### ***Transnational Chinese imagination and Chinese-ness***

As discussed in the previous chapter, media and language are believed to be the key factors generating "imagined community". Today the diasporic media are becoming "transnational phenomenon", which are transnational networks in material and infrastructural terms. These networks are described by Dirlik (2004) as the "contact zone", engendering a translocal imagination, manifesting the media consumers' capacity to identify with more than one place or culture through their projection of "place imaginary". As a consequence of a mutual process in what Appadurai describes as "motion and mediation", whereby both people and images are on the move, the ways diasporic individuals and communities relate to transnational place and space have become much more irregular and unpredictable (1996). For the Chinese diaspora, the emergence of a global Chinese media network has facilitated a transnational imagination, which has been transformed and shaped further by the rapid and inexorable multiplication of electronic media and mobile communication technologies. The understanding of the formation of transnational imagination and essence of Chineseness may provide the basis of further analysis on today's transformation and

new circumstance brought about by new communication technologies.

Many scholars of Chinese diaspora have tried to capture the very nature of such transnational imagination on the basis of the concept of transnationalism (e.g. Ong & Nonini, 1997; Sun, 2002; Ma and Cartier, 2003). While these works have successfully identified the transnational nature of the diasporic Chinese cultural, political and economic networks, questions still remain as to what extent such transnational networks have in fact engendered a Chinese transnational imagination and how much a transnational imagination matters to real social life (Sun, 2006). To answer these questions, I draw support from Sun that “imagination is necessarily social and political, and transnational imagination is a social process that warrants equally serious investigation” (2006: 10). Appadurai’s powerful observation also claimed that imagination is not an idle, mundane and individual mental activity resembling fantasizing or daydreaming. It is instead a social project expressive of agency and productive of modern political subjectivity:

It is the imagination, in its collective forms, that creates ideas of neighborhood and nationhood, of moral economics and unjust rule, of higher wages and foreign labor prospects. The imagination is today a staging ground for action, and not only for escape.

(Appadurai, 1996: 7)

Sun’s (2006: 11) frame work of undertaking a number of critical projects in the context of the Chinese transnational mediasphere to understand the “work of imagination”, seems to be very helpful for the current research. First, it is necessary to explore how the Chinese media across national and regional borders impacts on the ways in which a diasporic Chinese group perceives and relates to its counterparts elsewhere in the world. In other words, transnational imagination is implicitly translocal since it produces a location-specific imaginary place (Dirlik, 2004). What should be noticed here is that transnational imagination occurs not only within people who have traveled but also within those who haven’t. For example, how does a

Chinese couple who have never gone abroad have an imagination of being in New York when it is based perhaps only on a television show they have watched about scenic spots in London? How do Chinese entrepreneurs in New Zealand who have successfully established their businesses compare themselves to those who have gone instead to Indonesia? More specifically, how is this comparison or transnational imaginary impacted by the media when people saw reports on anti-Chinese riots in Indonesia? The 1980s and early 1990s wave of mainland Chinese students going to the West saw the productions of serious television dramas exemplified by *A Beijing Native in New York* (Sun, 2006). Thus the consumption of these transnational Chinese media has inevitably impacted on the ways in which Chinese audiences, whether have traveled abroad or not, imagine themselves in relation to their place, community, nation and the world.

Second, it needs to be understood that Chinese media are inevitably saturated with “China” and the “Chinese element”, thereby facilitating a transnational Chinese imagination. The diasporic Chinese mediasphere, by choice or by destiny, bears the birthmarks of Chinese nationalism (Sun, 2006). It is not to suggest that China should be accorded a “privileged ontological and epistemological position” in the consideration of Chinese transnational culture (Ong and Nonini, 1999). After all, not all diasporic media outlets are pro-PRC (for example, the New York-based Epoch Times for Falun Gong activism). What is highlighted by Sun is the “unwavering ambition and the resourcefulness of Chinese patriotism to globalize its national imagination” (2006: 12). So it is easy to understand that many first generation immigrants want their children to speak Mandarin; moreover, the strong presence of transnational Chinese media in most big cities, and the free-to-take Chinese textbooks designed by PRC educators in most Chinese embassies are all examples of this “resourcefulness”. Therefore, the point here is that diasporic media simply cannot ignore the Chinese factor, from its language to its content, establishing various ties with China and forming transnational imaginations within the Chinese community.

However, Chinese diaspora may often face a difficult choice between China and the country of settlement. Some studies indicate that the transnational Chinese media could help Chinese diaspora understand the dilemmas between two countries in various ways (for instance, Carstens, 1998). This leads to the third point, it is necessary to look at what strategies via media are available to Chinese diaspora in their struggle to maintain legitimacy in the national culture of their respective adopted countries. As discussed previously, Chinese media could serve as a tool for a Chinese diaspora's public expression and transnational protest, which is also known as political function of the media by the scholars (e.g. Yang, 2003; Parker & Song, 2006). Many Chinese communities are found marginalized and even have a non-presence in the political arena of the host countries, for instance in some Southeast Asian countries. Thus survival against political and social odds is a long-term theme in the media (Sun, 2006).

Fourth, and most importantly, various global forces - migration, globalization, transnationalism, multiculturalism and media deregulation, and technological convergence - have generated a particular kind of imagination, bringing Chinese diaspora into the process of evolving and transforming themselves. As I said previously, overseas Chinese today are found in almost every country in the world and complex and changing imagination may have influence on the transformation of their identities. A number of studies find that the developments of different diasporic Chinese communities are distinctive from each other, and thus present varied identity formations. For instance, in Lim and Gosling's (1983) study of overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia, he suggests that Chinese diaspora are able to employ a range of methods to manage their identities. Similarly, Wang (1991: 213-215) reveals that Southeast Asian Chinese appear to present multiple identities which consist of Chinese ethnic identity, "local national identity", "communal identity (very important in Malaysia where the Chinese constitute about 30 percent of the population)", "nationalist identity (that promoted and nurtured by Chinese nationalist governments)", "past-oriented historical identity (often referred to as 'Chinese-ness')

and class identity”. Wang also suggests that the complexity and multiplicity of diasporic Chinese identities can be and have been impacted greatly by the state power and economic need of the host countries. For instance, an examination of immigration policies in Australia revealed “a remarkable continuity in that Chinese immigrants are welcomed insofar as they fit into the preferred state’s economic agenda of development - as economic migrants, and also to keep the ‘local’ and restless population in line” (Wong, 2003: 6). Therefore, Chinese diaspora tend to assume their identities variously due to the different social, economic and political climate in their host countries. While the formation and characteristics of Chinese identity will be further discussed in detail in the next chapter, reflecting on the notion of Chinese-ness could be helpful in the current stage.

Some scholars from the communications field have tried to study Chinese identity by embracing the concept of Chinese-ness. However, Chinese-ness, often referred to in cultural identity, is traditionally not an inherent quality given by ancestors, “but a continual struggle along multiple historical and social nodes through a negotiation of the inescapable tension between secure threatening and a consciousness of the oppressions” (Wong, 2003: 7). Investigation, enrichment and evaluation of the idea of “Chinese-ness” is obviously “desired by many of its diasporic subjects” (Levenson, 1970). In diasporic Chinese communities, many people tend to reinforce their authentic Chinese identity by preserving Chinese culture, especially when such culture needs to be defended against western cultural imperialism. It is thus understandable that festival celebrations are playing an important role in community events, as they mark authentic Chinese culture in families of Chinese diaspora. They also signify the meaning of Chinese-ness and being Chinese.

The Chinese media, in academic discussions, is widely believed to have a significant effect in cultural preservation. Written in the Chinese language, transnational Chinese media are especially meaningful in their roles of decreasing inner differences within diasporic Chinese communities, offering helpful information and producing a sense of

Chinese-ness and Chinese identity. However, globalization has brought about transformations to many aspects of social and cultural practices. It also challenged old ideas of the self and sense-making, and thus the issue of identity needs to be re-investigated. Meanwhile, due to the transformation of technology in communication, especially the internet, “new forms of conviviality, civility and communion” are available and accessible (Wong, 2003). As a result, a new transnational space is created in which hybrid categories and multiple identities become the coda of a diaspora’s imagination and belonging.

#### 2.2.4 Chinese diaspora and the internet

The development of diasporic Chinese media is closely linked with innovations in communication technology due to the fact that overseas Chinese communities are always small and widely dispersed. The particular challenge Chinese diasporic media confront in reaching their audiences has pushed them to seek out the most effective channel for interaction. The internet serves as an alternative media that transcends time and space, allowing voice and visibility for Chinese diaspora who might be classified, homogenized and marginalized by the mainstream media. Diasporic Chinese websites, categorized into two kinds - non-interactive websites (in terms of online magazines, newspapers and newsletters) and interactive websites (in the form of chat room, bulletin board system (BBS), MSN and forums) - seem to provide a space for discussions on a variety of topics including network directories, culture, politics, business, entertainment, education and current events in China, the host country as well as the globe. With qualitatively and quantitatively enhanced linkages via the internet, Chinese diasporic websites are already creating various networks among individuals, communities, institutions, and business companies owned by Chinese diaspora (Yang, 2005). Indeed, such transnational Chinese networks become the “place” where Chinese users electronically reconstitute the relationships that existed before migration. Given what I said earlier, this is only one aspect of these

networks and the relationships are also transformed.

### *Debates on transnational Chinese diasporic networks*

The rise of transnational Chinese diasporic networks in cyberspace has many interesting questions for researchers who have attempted to capture the characteristic and significance of this transnational phenomenon. In the social field, studies on Chinese diaspora and the internet often embrace the issue of identity because the formation of identity via the internet is one of the most discursive and changeable processes.

Through study on the nature, dynamics and political functions of transnational Chinese networks, Yang (2003) identifies a “transnational Chinese culture sphere” which is constituted by “Chinese-language portal sites, newsgroups and online magazines, and bulletin board systems”. These different transnational spaces are shared by Chinese diaspora around the globe - generally from the “three symbolic universes of cultural China<sup>10</sup>” (Tu, 1994). Using guerrilla ethnography and case studies, Yang focused on three political functions<sup>11</sup> of the Chinese cultural sphere that serves in transnational protest and impacts on civil society in China. Similarly using quantitative analysis, Melkote and Liu (2000) carried out research on computer-mediated communication and acculturation among Chinese intellectuals in the US. An online survey was conducted and the findings suggested that users of Chinese ethnic websites seem to “create a pluralistic integration for Chinese students and scholars in the USA”, that is, a behavioral integration into US society while Chinese values remained. Most recently, Parker and Song (2006) examined online interactions by young Chinese immigrants in two British ethnic communities: South Asian and Chinese. Focusing on two British based diasporic websites -

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<sup>10</sup>Tu Wei-ming proposed a conception on “cultural China” which “refers to the interactions of three symbolic universes, the first consisting of mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore, the second of other ethnic Chinese communities around the world, and the third of individuals (such as teachers and journalists) who try to understand China intellectually and bring their understanding to their own communities” (1994).

<sup>11</sup> Yang Guobing suggested that public sphere fulfils three political functions: public expression, civic association and popular protest. Yang believed that the transnational Chinese cultural sphere fulfils these functions in the world arena and within civil society in China (2003).

[www.barficulture.com](http://www.barficulture.com) and [www.britishbornchinese.org.uk](http://www.britishbornchinese.org.uk) - Parker and Song (2006: 576) argue that the “internet discussion forums can act as witnesses to social inequalities and through sharing experiences of racism and marginalization, an oppositional social perspective may develop”. Radicalized problems and contested identities became regular debates among the young second generation immigrants during the research, carried out through content analysis of discussion forums and e-mail interviews with site users.

However, four problems arise from the above studies. Firstly, quantitative analysis seems to successfully display the content of the internet communication experienced by Chinese diaspora, but it fails to investigate how this significant phenomenon is transforming and reshaping Chinese diaspora. Though quantitative analysis is very helpful at gathering data and displaying the calculated results, the qualitative method is believed to be more appropriate in exploring in-depth causes of phenomenon thereby revealing the process of formation. Drawing on discourse analysis, the current study examines how Chinese diaspora negotiate different identities online. Secondly, although there has been much emphasis on the political function of the transnational Chinese network, its cultural impacts, especially the cultural conflict and identity crisis emerging on the internet, are not fully explored. This research could highlight the issue of cultural identities formed by Chinese diaspora through online interactions as well as this discursive process. Thirdly, some studies tend to focus heavily on the networked individualism (e.g. Wellman, 2001; Bauman, 2001), meanwhile downplaying the importance of collective online activities. This study, however, also sheds some light on the features of the online community and thus contributes to the study of collective online experiences. Last but not least, the earlier studies are within quite different contexts, for instance, the immigration policy of the United Kingdom is quite different from that in the United States. Therefore, this thesis addresses Chinese diaspora in New Zealand, which will augment existing literature on diasporic Chinese networks in different contexts.



### *New Zealand context*

First it has to be pointed out that the term “Chinese diaspora” here refers to the whole body of overseas Chinese in New Zealand, including Chinese immigrants as well as transient diaspora who currently stay in New Zealand. Not merely focusing on immigrants, the current study will also involve communities such as new and temporary settlers (students etc) who are not so much part of the established Chinese community and are still strongly linked to home in China. While much research has been done to examine the relationship between Chinese diasporas and their use of the internet in multicultural societies, like the United States, United Kingdom and other European countries, little attention has been paid to the development of the Chinese diasporic network in New Zealand. This is despite a substantial percentage of Chinese in New Zealand’s population (around 3%), far higher than that of America (1%), Holland (1%) and Britain (0.42%) (Yang, 2005). Today the development of an information society in NZ confronts all groups and especially Chinese diasporas with the challenge to shape and to participate in this process of change. So the questions are: Is the situation in New Zealand similar or different to previous studies? Do online communities offer certain identity options to Chinese diaspora in New Zealand concerning cultural and national belonging? If the answer is yes, then what are these identity options and how are they projected to the members of the online communities?

The Chinese are the third racial group to immigrate to New Zealand, after the Maori and European. “At the last census in 2006, Chinese New Zealanders accounted for 3.7% of the total population and approx 43% of all Asian New Zealanders, and so is the largest Asian ethnic group in New Zealand (<http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2006-census-data/>, 2008). Chinese immigrants may roughly be regarded as two groups; the earlier immigrants, and more recent immigrants who have settled since the 1980s. According to statistics, the first Chinese immigrants recorded in New Zealand originated from Guangdong Province, and arrived during the gold rush period. Because of this historical event, today there is still

a relatively large population of Chinese immigrants in the South Island city of Dunedin whose most recent mayor Peter Chin is a Chinese descendant. However, most Chinese diaspora living in the North Island of New Zealand are of more recent migrant descent. The influx of new Chinese is a migration trend which started in 1987 with the liberalization of immigration policy. It includes two main waves: the first a steady stream of emigrants from Hong Kong, due to political reasons; with the second wave skilled migrants from Taiwan with their influx peak in 1995 (Ip, 2006). Of course, Chinese immigrants are only part of the Chinese diaspora. By the term “Chinese diaspora” in this thesis, I mean not merely limited to immigrants, but also including communities such as new and temporary settlers (Chinese students etc.) who are more transient Chinese immigrants to New Zealand and still strongly linked to home in China.

### ***Chinese-language media in New Zealand***

The historical development of the Chinese-language media in New Zealand was directly influenced by two factors before the 1980s, the numerically small ethnic Chinese community and the great distance for transport between China and New Zealand. As a result, the earlier age of Chinese-language media (mainly newspapers) appeared to be weak, uncontested, exclusive and highly influential (Ip, 2006). However, immigration influx and government media policy after the 1980s enabled Chinese-language media to develop, and the new immigrants’ presence also presented commercial and economic opportunities to media entrepreneurs. Currently, at least 20 free Chinese newspapers are being published nationwide, in forms of free weekly, bi-weekly or thrice-weekly newspapers. Most of them are Auckland based, but Wellington and Christchurch also publish a few. Several of these free newspapers also claim that they have large print-runs of 15,000 to 17,000 per issue (Ip, 2006). However, these newspapers have often been criticized for lack of professional journalists, editorial staff and news reporters. Due to the “free-of-charge” model, the newspaper owners tend to focus only on advertising to guarantee the business operation, while neglecting the quality of content itself (Yang, 2005). In contemporary

times, the development of Chinese-language media is closely linked with globalization which has brought about economic and cultural forces that interconnect transnational groups. In this age of new technologies and computer-mediated communications, the Chinese internet landscape today in New Zealand is one of the fastest growing of all, helping in the creation of an imagined online community in New Zealand.

The Chinese diasporic network in New Zealand covers a range of both personal and institutional or commercial websites that are reconstructing and reshaping the Chinese community in social, cultural and political realms. It is creating a space where original culture and traditions, transnational life experiences and exploration of new identities become the common interests and desires within community. As mentioned before, there are two kinds of Chinese diasporic websites. In the case of Chinese websites established in New Zealand, the two types of online spaces can be identified also, as listed in Appendix A. Among these New Zealand based Chinese websites, one non-interactive website: [www.stevenyoung.co.nz](http://www.stevenyoung.co.nz) and one interactive website: [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz) have become most popular to the Chinese community in New Zealand. Stevenyoung is an academic website that focuses on a very narrow subject: “The Chinese in New Zealand - with content biased towards the Chinese who have been in New Zealand for several generations” ([www.stevenyoung.co.nz](http://www.stevenyoung.co.nz), 2010). As I mentioned in the introduction, Skykiwi is a portal website that got high ranks in terms of its visits, directory function and membership by statistics from some third party website monitor software. However, there are many other social media sites, such as Facebook, Blog and directory websites that have emerged as important for Chinese in New Zealand since I started this study. As I said previously, the Chinese diasporic network in New Zealand is one of the fastest growing of all, and so it is impossible to address all these social media sites. It just needs to be acknowledged here that there is indeed another wave of development since my study.

Unfortunately, currently there is not much literature or research aiming at the Chinese

diasporic network in New Zealand, although the transnational characteristic and social outcomes of these websites, in terms of the relationship between the use of the internet by Chinese diaspora in New Zealand and the transnational diasporic communication networks in cyberspace as well as the relatively huge online community is worthy of long-term observation and study.

### **2.3 Discussions and implications**

The literature reviewed here presents current research addressing the changes and dynamics of relationship between diaspora and media in the context of globalization, especially with the emergence of the internet. The internet has clearly challenged existing social theories in terms of community networks, diasporic interactions and identity formations, as it becomes the distinct space of “selective social interaction and symbolic belonging”(Castells, 2001). In studying Chinese diasporic communities and their online interactions, some important issues are brought into consideration for further investigation.

Firstly, there are two main ways to characterize the transnational diasporic network: the media language and its membership. The specific ethnic language, layout of the web page, genres, content, and surrounding cultural and traditional elements are generating a sense of belonging and identity within one ethnic community. Clearly, cultural identity is significantly displayed on the site, and thus is continuously experienced and contested. The internet amplifies this contest and imaging “in very immediate and quotidian ways”, e.g. viewing the latest news about countries of origin, debating the political issues and responding to a review of a native movie (Wong, 2003). It is such a transnational network on the internet that forms “a common cultural repertoire (of shared history or expressive symbols)” among its ethnic users (Yang, 2003: 486).

The second issue concerns the role of the internet for diaspora. On the one hand, the internet will provide further opportunities for diaspora and ethnic minorities in everyday life in the host country, thereby facilitating adaptation. On the other hand, the possibilities to stay in intensive contact with their home country through the internet can assist in the creation of a transnational way of living.

The third issue concerns the diaspora's new identity formation. The current research indicates that the diaspora are struggling between original cultural heritage and local social norms. As a result, diaspora seem to adapt into some aspects of social life in host countries while preserving past cultural values. This process is facilitated by the diasporic network via cyberspace. Hence, it is argued that "a new hybrid cultural realm is emerging via the internet" (Elias and Lemish, 2009), characterized by hybrid identities, different lifestyles, mixed lingos and various social networks with friends in both home, host and other countries.

Due to the relatively convenient access and low costs, the internet has been regarded as a revolutionary communication channel for searching and exchanging information and building new public space. Whilst research has been done to examine the development of diasporic networks in many multicultural societies, until now use of the internet by diaspora people in New Zealand has not been thoroughly investigated. Quite often these diaspora people are seen as "off liners". However, it is especially not true for Chinese diaspora people in New Zealand, as New Zealand-based Chinese networks in cyberspace today are some of the fastest growing of all. Therefore, the current research will highlight the intersection between Chinese diaspora, identity formation and the internet, focusing on how Chinese diaspora in New Zealand negotiate the new identity on the internet.

## **Chapter 3. Theoretical Approaches**

Identity and culture are key issues in the contemporary world. The legacies of globalization, migration and the growth of new social movements, along with the creation of diaspora have put the questions of identity at the centre of debates in the humanities and social sciences. In the modern world, “different peoples and cultures have come into contact actually or virtually - and mixed with each other to an ever increasing degree” (Weedon, 2004: 3). This meeting of cultures in its various manifestations, via transnationalism and the movement of people, tends to challenge the traditional ideas of identity and belonging. The following chapter draws on some theoretical approaches to the constitution of subjectivity, identity and sense-making, as well as their relationships, in order to understand identity construction in and through cultural texts and practices. It especially asks how diaspora come to make sense of their social worlds and seek to shape identities in societies.

### **3.1 Subjectivity and identity**

The concept of “identity” is increasingly under question in social-cultural discourses concerned with gender, class, culture, race, ethnicity and so on. In order to understand the role it plays in individual and social practices, we need to theorize identity “within broader conceptualizations of subjectivity which can account for the unconscious, non-rational and emotional dimensions of identity” (Weedon, 2004: 2). Here, I will begin with discussing the relationship between subjectivity and identity, especially their constitution in and through cultural texts and practices.

In Weedon’s (2004) book of “identity and culture”, she talked about Louis Althusser’s (1971) theorization on “knowing subject” to demonstrate the process of identification. In Louis Althusser’s (1971: 63) influential essay, he defines a “knowing subject” as

“an individual conceived of as a sovereign, rational and unified consciousness, in control of language and meaning”. The process of identification thus involves the process of individuals becoming knowing subjects, with the support of language and ideology. Althusser also set an example to explain it: if an individual is walking down the road and suddenly hears someone calling out “Hey, you there”, almost always, the hailed individual will turn around. This process of recognition--the individual naturally and obviously thinks he/she is the one addressed by the call becomes the “ideology” in an individual’s mind that constitutes “the individual as a subject” within language and practices. Althusser calls this phenomenon as “interpellation” that refers to the process in which the individual responds to a call with an identification through which he/she becomes a subject. Althusser also argued that there is a range of “Ideological State Apparatuses”, for instance “religion, education, the family, the law, politics, culture and the media” that can “produce the ideologies within which we assume identities and become subjects” (1971: 63).

The question that then comes to mind might be “what is the relationship between subjectivity and identity?” According to Weedon, identity can be “understood as a limited and temporary fixing for the individual of a particular mode of subjectivity as apparently what one is” (2004: 19). From this point of view, one of the most prominent functions of identity is to bridge the various modes of subjectivity coexisting in the complex social world. This process of identification relocates subjects to “the specific meanings and values constituted within a particular discourse” (Weedon, 2004: 20). Through discursive processes and various social practices, such as the media, business, politics and education, individuals are offered subject positions that in turn encourage their identifications. Thus, the identity occurs when interacting with others and the meaning of identity is to “give individuals a singular sense of who they are and where they belong”:

Identity is about belonging, about what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you from others. At its most basic it gives you a sense of personal location, the

stable core to your individuality. But it is also about your relationships, your complex involvement with others and in the modern world these have become ever more complex and confusing. Each of us live with a variety of potentially contradictory identities, which battle within us for allegiance: as men or women, black or white, straight or gay, able-bodies or disabled, 'British' or 'European'...The list is potentially infinite, and so therefore are our possible belongings. Which of them we focus on, bring to the fore, "identify" with, depends on a host of factors. At the centre, however, are the values we share or wish to share with others.

(Weeks, 1990:88)

Three points are highlighted by Weeks' description: 1) Identity occurs when one is interacting with others and the process of identification includes both recognizing others and being recognized by others. 2) "Identity is relational" and "it is defined in relation of what it is not" (Weedon, 2004: 19). Thus, the definition of identity and its oppositions explicitly mark the difference, which may lead to social problems, such as racism, discrimination, marginalization, assimilation and so forth. 3) Identity is a kind of sense-making, that is, the process of identifying its belonging. In this process, individuals become the knowing subjects and form their own sense of identity. From this perspective, identity is complex, changeable and situational, with different meaning for each individual. So studying identity has become a key way of analyzing changes in society, particularly disruptive shifts:

Just now everybody wants to talk about identity. As a key word in contemporary politics it has taken so many different connotations that sometimes it is obvious that people are not even talking about the same thing. One thing at least is clear—identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty.

(Mercer, 1990:43)

Identity may be assigned differently due to different criteria, such as culture, religion, ethnicity, nationality, social status, profession and so on. So it is natural that a PhD



student embraces the identities of a wife, a mother, a Christian, a golf club member, an Asian and many other forms. The labels of identity are often decided by the people who put them on. Judith Butler (1990) called the phenomenon “performativity”, which points to the various assumptions of identities in social practices. Butler argues that “identity is performatively constituted by the very ‘expressions’ that are said to be the results” (1990:25). For instance, ethnic identity could be expressed by various signs, such as languages, skin colors, ways of dressing, religions, and so on. Ethnic identity does not lead to this ethnicity but is rather the product of these ethnic features. In other words, an individual can acquire ethnic identity by performing expressions of ethnicity. In Butler’s idea, this “performativity must be understood not as a singular or deliberate ‘act’, but, rather, as the reiterative and citational practice by which discourse produces the effects that it names” (1993:2). Thus, despite the common sense concept that ethnicity is natural, in Butler’s mode of theorization, it is “culturally acquired through repetition” (1993: 2). As we are involved in specific discourses, we repeatedly manifest and perform various modes of identity until these expressions are regarded as obvious and natural. People take on other identities by actively identifying them, such as a fan of the movie star or a volunteer at the Olympic Games. However, this mode could give rise to “a conscious counter-identification against institutionally and socially assigned identities, and the meanings and values that they are seen to represent” (Weedon, 2004: 7). One typical example of this would be transgender identity which reverses common sense and routine to signal difference between genders. Accordingly, identity is a set of culturally available performances, instead of a stable and fixed notion:

Perhaps instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact, which the new cultural practices then represent, we should think instead, of identity as a ‘production’, which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation.

(Hall, 1990: 222)

Seen from the above, the study of identity is not to find the real, authentic or true self

pre-existing in individuals, but rather to investigate how people form their views of the world, others and innermost selves, and present them through language and meaning. Thus, the construction of identity is partly a matter of what one can create for oneself and partly of the positions made available by others in social practices (Wetherell and Yates, 2001). We may find that this self-definition is a psychological process that involves the ideology of sense-making. It is about people's minds - how they make sense of the self and others, and how they interpret the world. So, in the following section, I will draw on psychological perspectives of the approach of sense-making to discuss the construction of the self, and particularly look at how individuals construct identities through language and meaning.

### **3.2 Self and sense-making**

We already know that one of the key ideologies of identity is that identity is a “production”, and it is about how people make sense of the selves through language and meaning. The process of constructing identity is governed by individuals' minds and ideologies. In order to investigate how people carry out a discourse, the discursive practices and routines they use and the consequences of choosing one way to present oneself over another, we need to look at the psychological process of sense-making and discursive production of the self.

#### **3.2.1 Sense-making**

Sense-making is an approach that can be used to think about or carry out communication research, and has also been used to design communication-based systems and activities. It has been studied in various settings (e.g. information systems, media systems, web sites and so on), at various levels (e.g. interpersonal, community, organizational, national, global), and within various perspectives (e.g. critical, social, cultural, psychological, feminist) (Dervin & D. Reinhard, 2012). While

the approach has been applied in different disciplines, for instance, “information science” led by Brenda Dervin (1989), and “organizational studies” led by Karl Weick (2001), it has also been expanded, transformed, and enriched by the efforts of numerous researchers from philosophical, sociological, and scientific, especially social psychological, fields. Therefore, a sense-making approach often serves as “an interdisciplinary research program” (Dervin & D. Reinhard, 2012).

According to Weick, Sutcliffe and Obstfeld (2005: 410), “sensemaking [sic] is a process by which individuals or organizations create an understanding so that they can act in a principled and informed manner”. In other words, sense-making is an explanatory process of framing experienced situations as meaningful. The approach of sense-making can help us understand environments by a situation that can be explicitly explained in words, and then functions as a guideline for our actions. In organizational studies, Weick (1995: 17-61) raised seven properties of sense-making:

1. Grounded in identity construction

Identity and identification is central as whatever implied in sensemaking grounded in identity. In other words, the ways people understand the world and interpret events are shaped by their specific identities.

2. Retrospective sensemaking

Developed from Schutz’s (1967) idea of “meaningful lived experience”, retrospective sensemaking refers to the fact that sometimes only after people have done something, they can understand its meaning. Thus, retrospection provides the opportunity for sensemaking. However, the meaning is not attached to a lived experience but depending on the particular kind of attention that individual gives to that lived experience (Schutz, 1967).

3. Enactive of sensible environments

Sometimes individuals can create part of the world they are located in by their accounts. It helps them understand who they think they are, what they learn from the past and know about the future.

#### 4. Social

“Sensemaking is a social activity” because people continuously communicate their stories and experiences with others in which shared knowledge can be preserved. In this process, speakers themselves also become the part of the audiences (Watson, 1995) “and the narratives are both individual and shared...an evolving product of conversations with ourselves and with others” (Currie & Brown, 2003: 565).

#### 5. Ongoing

“Sensemaking is an ongoing process” in that people insert themselves into the specific context and “observe the consequences”. Then they come to “learn about their identities and the accuracy of their accounts of the world”. In turn, they can shape and enact to the environment they face. This is a feedback process, just as what Weick argued, “The basic idea of sensemaking is that reality is an ongoing accomplishment that emerges from efforts to create order and make retrospective sense of what occurs” (1993b: 635).

#### 6. Focused on and by extracted cues

“People extract cues from the context to help them decide on what information is relevant and what explanations are acceptable. Extracted cues provide points of reference for linking ideas to broader networks of meaning and are simple, familiar structures that are seeds from which people develop a larger sense of what may be occurring” (Weick, 1995: 50).

#### 7. Driven by plausibility rather than accuracy

It is often the case that people prefer “plausibility over accuracy” of stories and narratives (Currie & Brown, 2003): “in an equivocal, postmodern world, infused with the politics of interpretation and conflicting interests and inhabited by people with multiple shifting identities, an obsession with accuracy seems fruitless, and not of much practical help, either”(Weick, 1995:61).

These seven properties of sense-making involve a more concrete and detailed process in explaining events and context, which are distinguishing features from the processes of “understanding”, “interpretation” and “attribution” (Weick, 1995). They describe what constitutes the process of sense-making, how people create it and what the limitation of it is. These detailed descriptions serve more like an outline or framework

which can help people to learn about the world. Each of these seven properties interacts and intertwines while people are interpreting the world. “Their interpretations become evident through narratives - written and spoken - which convey the sense they have made of events” (Currie & Brown, 2003: 566). Therefore, sense-making is a discursive process in that the individual’s explanatory process can be shaped and reshaped by many factors, such as influences of external circumstance and other people, experiences of inner-self, social changes and so on. In this regard, the performance of the self and identity is also discursive and flexible when the individual is communicating with others and the world.

### 3.2.2 Discursive production of the self

Having discussed the approach of sense-making, I will use the idea to explore the linguistically-oriented social psychology of self-hood and identity. In particular, I agree that self-narratives and self-positioning are means by which people make themselves intelligible - how people know who they are and communicate their identities to others (Gergen, 2001; Davies and Harre, 2001).

As I mentioned previously, the self doesn’t pre-exist in human beings, but can be constructed or performed by language and social interaction. This is in line with Gergen’s perspective on language which is characteristic of discourse research. In his description of “self-narration in social life”, Gergen argues (2001: 248) that “who we are emerges in a contingent, variable and flexible fashion as we talk ourselves into being”. Of course this does not mean there is no continuity to the self, but rather, that old, already familiar stories (large-scale significant autobiographical narratives and the tiny anecdotes of everyday life) contextualize the new stories. Here Gergen introduces a term “self-narrative” which refers to “an individual’s account of the relationship among self-relevant events across time” (2001: 248). People attempt to find connections among past experiences and link them to develop their

self-narratives (Cohler, 1982; Kohli, 1981; cited by Gergen). As a result, our life is not simply just one thing after another, but rather a story that is systematically constituted by a series of relational events and experiences allotted wisely to their positions in a sequence or an “unfolding process” (Gergen, 2001). From this perspective, instead of a single and sudden episode, an individual’s present identity is an intelligible result of various relational life stories (Gergen, 2001). As a leading exponent of social constructionism within psychology, Gergen’s work of narrative (1985, 1991, and 1994) suggests a research method in concrete analysis of people’s accounts of their life histories. In particular, discursive properties of narratives are emphasized here. That is, individuals don’t consult the contents of their own minds and produce anew each time a fresh idiosyncratic description of themselves but, rather, they creatively work with discursive history. Moreover, people seem to be constrained and empowered by their existing cultural conceptions of the form of a good narrative and the content of their narratives is also socially constructed (Gergen, 2001:193).

Fitting well within the general framework of the discursive self-described by Gergen, Davies and Harre (2001) explore one crucial idea of narratives - “positioning of the self” - to illustrate the discursive production of the self. The notion of positioning indicates that to take on a narrative is to take on a line/position of some kind from which one speaks. Such positioning is mutual and reciprocal. When we are addressed by others we have to deal with the positions they construct for us and as we speak we in turn position them (Davies and Harre, 2001: 261-271). This notion of positioning has a long history and similar arguments can be found in Foucault’s work (Hall, 1996) and Althusser’s notion of “interpellation”. What is exciting about both Gergen’s, and Davies and Harre’s, work is that they indicate our present identity is formulated within various social interactions; thus it is not a relatively fixed result but could be shaped and reshaped by the discursive social practices in which we participate. From this stance, identity is always an open question, depending upon the narratives in which we make sense of our own and others’ lives. I will discuss the structuring of “self-narrative” shortly in the next section, while talking about “positioning the self”

in the methodology chapter so as to apply these ideas to the design of the research.

### 3.2.3 Self-narrative in discourse

I discussed the notions of self-narrative in the last section. Although the concept of self-narrative can work as a theoretical and helpful device for conducting the current research, it is necessary also to stretch out the more detailed content of narrative accounts in this section. Before embarking on this analysis, I need first to talk about the structure of narrative accounts. According to Gergen (2001: 250-253), in order to construct an intelligible self-narrative, the following several criteria are particular central in the process:

Establishing a valued endpoint - An acceptable narrative must first establish a goal or an evaluative framework in which good or bad character helps to produce unfortunate or happy outcomes (MacIntyre, 1981: 456; cited by Gergen, 2001).

Selecting events relevant to the endpoint - An intelligible narrative is one in which events serve to make the goal more or less probable, accessible, important, or vivid.

The ordering of events - when a goal has been established and relevant events are selected, the events are usually placed in an ordered arrangement, such as importance, interest value, timeliness, and so on.

Stability of identity - the well-formed narrative is typically one in which the social actors in the story possess a continuous or coherent identity across time.

Causal linkages - an ideal narrative is one that could provide an explanation or reason for the outcome.

Demarcation signs - most intelligible narratives have signals to indicate the beginning and the end.

Several points are worth noting here. First, the broad context of the production of a well-formed self-narrative is the ongoing dialogue or interaction. Instead of other

psychological approaches to discourse analysis that place the major emphasis on the individual, Gergen considers self-narrative as a form of social interaction. In this view, narratives are based on conversations and can be continuously shaped and reshaped as the interaction goes on. "Self-narrative is thus a linguistic device embedded within conventional sequences of action and applied to influence various forms of action" (Gergen, 2001: 249). Moreover, it is not to say the acquisition of narrative skills is through action, but rather, it is through interaction with others. Secondly, Gergen tends to place strong emphasis on socio-cultural origins of narrative construction as he argues that self-narratives are also "cultural resources that serve certain social purposes, such as self-identification, self-justification, self-criticism, and social solidification". In this sense, self-narrative is more like "oral histories or morality tales within a society" (Gergen, 2001: 249). Last but not least, Gergen establishes an idea of moral system and reciprocating identities within community. As suggested above, an intelligible self-narrative depends heavily on others' affirmation. In turn, this sense of affirmation comes from the others' agreement about their own place in the narrative. So an individual's "success in sustaining a self-narrative is fundamentally dependent on the willingness of others to play out certain parts in relationship to him" (Gergen, 2001: 258). It is also described as the "network of reciprocating identities" by Schapp (1976) who argued that the construction of the self is associated and twisted with others' life stories and vice versa. Furthermore, in a broad sense, it sets the stage for moral evaluation since these narratives need social appraisal. This morality within community implies the continuing negotiation of narrative identity. Therefore, what is significant in Gergen's approach is that it introduces a way of thinking in analysis of people's accounts of their life histories. The idea of self-narrative is employed in this research because I consider online forums as forms of ongoing narratives - narrative in written style, though not face-to-face conversations. It is similar to narrative in expressing the personal experiences, emotions, opinions and life stories in such forums, with people discursively interacting self-identities across time.



### **3.3 Diasporic identity and the construction of Chinese identity**

The notion of identity also needs to be understood in more dimensions. As the current thesis explores the issues of diaspora and identity, I primarily discuss the definition of ethnic identity. Ethnic identity refers to a membership and belonging to a group which is based on the shared ethnic background. The group solidarity can be sustained and promoted by two factors or the mixture of both: 1) the objective factor, for example the common language, culture and tradition; 2) more subjective factor, for instance a “sense of belonging” (Edwards, 1985). So ethnic identity can be understood as a sense of belonging to a group within which people all accept such feelings and make commitments to the common culture and traditions. However, as I discussed in chapter 2, ethnicity is a social process that is “situational” and even “hybrid” because ethnicity can be recognized when people interact with others of different cultures (Downing and Husband, 2005). So ethnic identity is situational and hybrid since its various forms/aspects may be negotiated within individuals through the process of interaction in and out of the ethnic group. Besides ethnicity, other aspects such as culture, gender, nation and class are all defining characteristics of certain identities (Milikowski, 2000). Taking national identity as an example, it differs from other forms of identity in that it involves an exclusive bond with a certain place or nation. Hence as Heidt (1987) said, national identity is essentially defined as “one’s place of belonging”, which refers to one’s immutable origins or place of residence. A shared language, culture and history form part of the national identity of all national group members. Language is often regarded to be the distinctive feature to identify a common culture and tradition, and “a common culture and shared national values” could help smooth internal and external conflicts to create a united and tolerant society (Weedon, 2004). Thus, Stuart Hall argued that “a shared national identity depends on the cultural meanings, which bind each member individually into the larger national story” (2005: 24). Cultural identity relies on the shared cultural background that serves as a sense-making system with “symbols and meanings”, helping people to understand the social world (D’Haenens, 2003). In this sense, cultural

identity is about a sense of belonging to a shared system of knowledge and values that people can acquire to bind other “like-minded” people as a group. In return, this meaning system and shared values could influence and shape group members’ sense-making of self, others and the social reality. From the above definitions, we may find that national and ethnic identity both see shared culture as the fundamental element of identity construction.

Many studies have been done to investigate the implications of globalization for identity as the effects of globalization on identity have been varied and contextual, particularly for researchers who are interested in diaspora studies. People nowadays can frequently move across the world and interact with distinct cultures and thereby establish various connections among them due to the expansion of global institutions and trade, the development of transportation and the growth of communication channels. This movement has led to a change of paradigm, that is, from a “bi-cultural” to a hybrid identity (Bailey, 2007). According to the discussions in chapter 2, the process of globalization is the process of “hybridization”, and so the migration within the wave of globalization also involves the process of “hybridization”, that is, the mixture of different cultures of immigrants (Pieterse, 1995). So, building on previous definitions, this change of identity paradigm among diaspora people is just one specific form of “hybridization”. Moreover, these hybrid identities are slowly gaining space in which the diaspora can “shop around” to choose from the multitude of cultural possibilities in a host country that, in turn might help adaptation into host countries. Caspi and Elias (2002: 539) called it a “dual identity” that refers to “a hybrid position that enables one group to keep its own identity and at the same time be a member of a majority society”. In the study of black British women, Mirza (1997: 16) described “cultural hybridity” as “the fusion of cultures and coming together of difference, the ‘border crossing’ that marks diasporic survival, signifies change, hope of newness, and space for creativity”. These approaches to the identity of nomads and hybrids indicate that “the bonds of ethnic ties and the fixity of boundaries have been replaced by shifting and fluid identities” (Bailey, 2007: 15). From this point of view,

the legacies of globalization and diaspora seem to challenge the traditional ideology on nation, culture and identity. Today diasporic communities often display multiple and hybrid identities that rely both upon relatively fixed ideas of traditional culture and new hybrid identities and cultural forms obtained from engagement with the host country. These new cultural forms, practices and identities in their turn often challenge both ideas of traditional culture and those of the hegemonic host societies within which diasporic subjects are located (Weedon, 2004). Therefore, due to the hybrid and fluid nature of diaspora it is impossible to make any assumption of fixed identities. The current research is aimed at studying the way people perform identity and make sense of their specific locations.

However, the specific dynamics and contexts of diasporic lives make diasporic identities a very difficult object to study. For instance, Krzyzanowski and Wodak argued that, "Migration implies constant mobility and instability, an often endless search for belonging to the constantly changing other, as well as having to cope with constantly shifting legal and bureaucratic requirements for social acceptance and divergent parameters for recognition" (2008: 97). One possible solution to the problem of studying this fluid object might be to study these diaspora groups separately and in more dimensions, according to their different constitutions so as to enrich our understanding of the topic as much as we can. The current thesis, targeted at one diasporic community - Chinese diaspora - looks at the particular cultural characteristics in Chinese diasporic identity formation.

### **3.4 Debates on Chinese diasporic identity**

In recent years much research has been done to explore identity construction within the transnational Chinese communities. Particularly, researchers have attempted to study various agencies, such as transnational associations and institutions formed by Chinese diaspora, as these agencies are considered to be typical sites to demonstrate

and shape the Chinese diaspora's identity processes (Tan, 1997; Nyiri 1999; Melkote & Liu, 2000; Kozar, 2002; Ma & Cartier, 2003; Parker & Song, 2006; Sun, 2006).

In order to reveal the identity feature within traditional overseas Chinese communities, Li Yi-Yuan (1970) investigated Chinese institutions in a Malay town by drawing on three identity models proposed by Barbara Ward (1965). The first model is the "immediate model" that refers to the "consciousness" of a Chinese dialect group to identify "its own peculiar cultural characteristics". The second model is the "internal observer model" in which the members of a dialect group identify the selves "in relation to other dialect groups", particularly by recognizing their differences from others. The third one is the "ideological model" that means every dialect group claims "its belonging to a wider pan-Chinese cultural community, connected with the traditions and standards of the Confucian cultural elite class" (Li, 1970: 4-5). Li also found that there are larger segmentations among the various dialect groups within the Chinese community while there is little pressure from outside; however, when there is greater oppression felt from the outside environment, each dialect group would belittle their inner cultural differences and move towards greater solidarity for the entire Chinese community (1970). For the latter case, the immediate and internal observer model becomes subordinate to the ideological model.

Similarly, Nyiri (1999), examining an overseas Chinese community in Hungary, found that identity models for earlier Chinese immigrants are mainly "immediate model" and "internal observer model". This is because the majority of earlier Chinese immigrants were originated from the southern coastal provinces of China, and so they established connections through native-place and surname associations which emphasized dialect origins. However, the new Chinese immigrants (similar to the term "Chinese diaspora" in this study), Nyiri argues, tend to exhibit a pan-Chinese identity that fits the "ideological model" in which members all share Chinese traditional culture and values within community:

The discourse of belonging of the new Chinese transnational community is based on a pan-Chinese identity, rather than on subethnic (Cantonese, Wenzhounese, etc.) identities typical of traditional, national or transnational overseas Chinese core communities. In both trade and the political spheres, the China they left but continue to deal with is a centralized China, represented by national organizations and commercial enterprises from all around the country...The China concept of new migrants is centralized, based on the official nation state ideology

(Nyiri 1999: 68, 122)

I would like to explain the idea of “pan-Chinese identity” in this section as it is a very important term when attempting to understand the cultural identity of Chinese diaspora. The analysis of pan-Chinese identity is derived from Townsend’s conceptualization of the “Chinese nation”. According to Townsend, there are four different domains of Chinese nations: “1) the official Chinese nation, composed of all PRC citizens, including Han and non-Han people; 2) the PRC’s Han nation, made up of the majority Han population, distinct from non-Han minorities and from the overseas; 3) mainland Chinese includes the ‘compatriots’ of Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau; 4) Chinese who live overseas but continue to maintain a sense of political and cultural affinity to China” (1996, p: 28, cited in Chan 2005). From the perspective of these four different definitions of “Chinese nation”, Chinese national identity, especially pan-Chinese identity, seems to be a complex notion as well. According to He and Guo (2000: 6), the state invents a pan-Chinese identity that promotes “a Great Chinese Nation” (大中华民族) binding “the Han and 55 non-Han ethnic minorities”. More specifically, there are three forms of pan-Chinese identity advocated nowadays: 1) “a civic or territorial national identity” that “all people living in the territories of the PRC are seen as Chinese citizens, regardless of their ethnic, cultural and racial background”; 2) “a cultural genealogical identity” in which people who are descendants from the “Yellow Emperor”<sup>12</sup> are regarded as Chinese. This notion is promoted by the “PRC government to reconcile the Chinese in Hong Kong, Macau

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<sup>12</sup>The Yellow Emperor is a mythical Chinese emperor (purportedly born in 2704 B.C.), who is regarded as the first ancestor of all Chinese and the founder of the first Chinese civilization (Sautman, 1997)

and Taiwan”; 3) “a Chinese cultural identity” that is centered on Confucianism, seeing people who “speak the Chinese language and share the Chinese culture” as Chinese, no matter what parts of the world they come from, or what “ethnicity” and “political beliefs” they have (He & Guo, 2000: 6-7).

Thus, the idea of Chinese culture identity is similar to the notion of “Cultural China” raised by Tu Weiming (1994). The study also suggested that the Chinese government basically advocates a pan-Chinese national identity, but applies its various forms to deal with different political issues. For instance, the civic or territorial form of pan-Chinese identity is helpful when there are separatist tendencies amongst some ethnic minorities; while the government encourages a form of cultural genealogical identity when addressing Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan.

I attempt to link the above ideology of pan-Chinese national identity proposed by He and Guo (2000) to the construction of cultural identities among the Chinese virtual community in New Zealand. In the current thesis, I use the term “cultural identity” to encompass other forms of Chinese identity, suggesting a conceptual framework within which cultural, national and ethnic identities intersect and intertwine. The current study, by promoting cultural aspects as a core issue, focuses on the identity construction of diaspora who possess common national and ethnic identity while regarding culture as their prime source of belonging. As a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic country, New Zealand provides a rare opportunity for studying Chinese diasporic identity in a specific context. I am particularly interested in the online discourse produced by Chinese diaspora in the interactive public space in New Zealand. The internet has a unique characteristic to transcend space and time that can link relatively scattered diaspora into a virtual community and form certain emotional ties. As I said in Chapter 2, internet communication provides new possibilities of identity formation in diaspora. In order to add to existing knowledge of the Chinese diasporic cultural identity, I attempt to reveal how they form their identities and sense-making on the internet; and how they deploy multiple identities to enable

hybrid formation.

### **3.5 Chapter Summary**

Building on previous literature, I have focused in this chapter on the specific value of identity theory in theorizing the study. Two points emerged from the discussion of the above conceptual framework drawn from theories of identity. Firstly, identity is a fluid and dynamic product that is shaped and reshaped through wider social practices, such as the media, politics, business, education and so forth. The question of identity becomes even more complicated while involving diaspora due to their floating lives and competence in adaptation. Thus, it is possible, but only through some social practices, to study a certain mode of identity allocated to a specific group of people.. The current study fits into this framework by attempting to investigate the cultural identity constructed within Chinese diaspora in New Zealand, particularly by looking at online discourses produced by them in one interactive social space. Secondly, the current study mainly employs one important approach to the identity theory, that is, the sense-making of the self. As I discussed previously, the process of identification of the selves, others and the outside world is associated with meaning or an ideological system in individuals' minds. The social psychological approach of sense-making is helpful in revealing the process of creating an understanding of the social reality by individuals. The self and identity do not pre-exist in individuals, but can be constructed and performed in a contingent, variable and flexible way as they engage in social interactions.

In order to study the fluid, multiple, and practices-based dimensions of identity, I need to study the acts of making sense and deploying identity, and so need discourse analysis. The study of discourse is the study of language in use and so discourse analysis is a theoretical lens that I find particularly useful for the current research. In particular, I will analyze the online discourses produced by Chinese diaspora in the

*Skykiwi* website to capture the distinctive features of their identity performances, because the way diaspora present their identities on the internet and negotiate different identities, thereby enabling hybrid formation, lies at the heart of the project.



## Chapter 4. Method and Design of the Study

This chapter focuses on the methodology and specific research design for the study. Based on James Paul Gee's (2005) framework of discourse analysis, different levels and dimensions of discourse analysis, namely, lexical and intertextual, linguistic and psychological/cognitive, are employed to explore the distinctive characteristics of New Zealand Chinese diasporic identities on the internet. The chapter starts with an overview of the definition of discourse and discourse analysis in general and then moves to a review of scholarship specifically on the various perspectives of discourse analysis. Particular attention has been devoted to Gee's approach to the analysis of the functions of human language as a way to "enact specific social activities and social identities" (Gee, 2005). Furthermore, psychological perspectives of discourse analysis are also found necessary for thinking of the discursive construction of the self and distinct sense-making among Chinese diaspora in specific contexts. The following paragraphs are devoted to clarifying each research perspective employed in this study, as well as detailed research questions and the specific research design.

### 4.1 Discourse analysis as theory and method

Before talking about discourse analysis, the notion of "discourse" must be discussed as a first step. The term "discourse" is usually known as a form of language use, which generally refers to spoken language or ways of speaking. Jaworski and Coupland's (1999: 1-3) book, *The Discourse Reader*, compiles various descriptions of discourse. Here are some of them:

"Discourse" is for me more than just language use: it is language use, whether speech or writing, seen as a type of social practice.

(Fairclough, 1992: 28)

Discourse...refers to language in use, as a process which is socially situated. However...we

may go on to discuss the constructive and dynamic role of either spoken or written discourse in structuring areas of knowledge and the social and institutional practices which are associated with them. In this sense, discourse is a means of talking and writing about and acting upon worlds, a means which both constructs and is constructed by a set of social practices within these worlds, and in so doing both reproduces and constructs afresh particular social-discursive practices, constrained or encouraged by more macro movements in the overarching social formation.

(Candlin, 1997: ix)

The study of discourse is the study of any aspect of language use.

(Fasold, 1990: 65)

The analysis of discourse is, necessarily, the analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs.

(Brown and Yule, 1983:1)

The above descriptions illustrate that discourse is not limited to spoken language and also includes written or printed language, for instance, letters, books, newspapers, and other text types. For discourse analysts, extending the term to the printed word is still not adequate since the similarities between the ways we speak and write are salient. Their goal is to encompass “some other essential components in the concept, namely who uses language, how, why and when” (van Dijk, 1997a:2). One salience of these implicated aspects of discourse is that people use language in order to communicate ideas or express emotions with others. For example, people write a letter or make a phone call to their friends, listen to a public speech or read the latest news report. By doing these, people are involved in more complex social events, something else beyond just using language or communicating ideas: they interact (van Dijk, 1997a). Extending the idea of discourse in these ways, van Dijk identifies three main dimensions of discourse: 1) language use, 2) the communication of beliefs (cognition), and 3) interaction in social situations. Given these three dimensions, it is not surprising to find that several disciplines are involved in the study of discourse, such as linguistics (for the specific study of language and language use), psychology (for the study of beliefs

and how they are communicated), and the social sciences (for the analysis of interactions in social situations). Therefore, the typical object of discourse analysis is to study the integration of these three main aspects, that is, how does language use present beliefs and interactions; how do interactions shape beliefs and ways of using language; or how do beliefs manipulate language use and interaction (1997a: 2).

Now we have a first approximation of the notion of “discourse”, but there are still some complications that need to be resolved. First of all, “speaking language” as a form of discourse usually involves the interaction of both speakers and recipients, such as an interview or a phone call. But this is less obvious for written language (texts, letters, mails and news reports etc.) which seem to be merely objects of words. In some circumstances, however, written language can also include certain interaction between authors and readers. The difference is that the participants here do not need to interact face-to-face and the readers seem to be more passively involved in such interaction. But this does not mean that reading and understanding are any less active actions than listening or talking. Despite a number of notable differences, there are enough similarities between spoken and written language use to include communication and interaction of both these two modes of discourse in one general notion of “discourse” (van Dijk, 1997a). Secondly, when studying discourse, it is likely to focus only on the verbal aspects of discourse, that is, on what is actually being said or written by language users. But besides studying written or spoken language itself, discourse analysis should also involve other aspects of language in use, for instance, language users, specific circumstance or social situation that may influence the discourse. This is usually known as “context”, that is, other relational characteristics of discourse in an ongoing communicative event. Therefore, discourse studies are about spoken and written language use in context (van Dijk, 1997a).

There are many different approaches to discourse analysis (for example, Schiffrin, 1994; van Dijk, 1997a, b; Jaworski and Coupland, 1999; Wetherell et al, 2001; Fairclough, 2003; Rogers, 2004). Different approaches fit different issues and questions. However,

sometimes, different approaches could reach similar conclusions although using different research tools or methods. The current study stems from one approach - the approach grounded in analysis of discourse as a site of identity construction - but also draws on other perspectives of discourse analysis in order to demonstrate the complex, fluid and dynamic process of identity formation among the Chinese online community. In contrast with other discourse approaches, such as those of van Dijk, Fairclough or Wodak, this research generally follows Gee's framework of discourse analysis. Gee's approach was chosen because the samples of this research covers a range of discourse genres and focuses on the language-in-use, rather than the discourse structures which other scholars tend to emphasize in their analysis.

## **4.2 Gee's framework of discourse analysis**

James Paul Gee's (2005) book, *"An introduction to discourse analysis: theory and method"*, introduces an integrated approach to discourse analysis that contains theories about the features of language-in-use. In particular, Gee is concerned with how languages are "recruited 'on site' to enact specific social activities and social identities" (2005:1), which is exactly the theme of the current study. For this thesis, Gee's approach is not simply a description of how discourse analysis works; but rather, it is a helpful framework to conduct and design the research.

### **4.2.1 General theories**

The useful perspectives drawn from Gee's framework in this study can be briefly identified in the following aspects. Firstly, Gee (2005:1) believes that human language has two relational functions: 1) as action to support social activities and social identities, 2) as affiliation to connect people with cultures, social groups and institutions.

The implication of this overview is language as a tool to enact social identities and

cultural elements, since people with different social identities and cultural backgrounds would use different sorts of languages and thereby make different interpretations of the events. By analyzing the ways that people speak or write, we may get some clues to people's specific social identities and cultural belongingness.

Secondly, Gee proposes to differentiate two terms - "discourse" with small "d" and "Discourse" with capital "D". According to Gee (2005), discourse with a small "d" refers to language-in-use that enacts activities and identities. However, activities and identities are rarely ever enacted through language alone. They are also associated with other social activities, for instance, ways of acting, interacting, feelings, believing, valuing and etc. "When 'little d' discourse (language-in-use) is melded integrally with non-language 'stuff' to enact specific identities and activities", then discourse with a big "D" is involved (2005: 7). This point suggests that activities and identities are never enacted through language alone. There are a great number of other ways to enact identities so that discourse analysis should not be limited to the language itself. This perspective is employed in the current thesis to study beyond the language - e.g. context and background, people's minds and thinking, ways of interaction, etc., so as to capture the cultural distinctness of Chinese diaspora and their unique sense-making process.

Thirdly, Gee believes that people always actively use spoken and written language to build and rebuild the world of activities, identities, and institutions, according to history and culture. "Language-in-action is always an active building process that what we build is similar to what we have built before or not" (2005: 10). Whenever we speak or write, we simultaneously construct the following seven areas of "reality":

Significance - we use language to make things significant (to give them meaning or value) in certain ways.

Activities - we use language to get recognized as engaging in a certain sort of activity

Identities - we use language to get recognized as taking on a certain identity or role.

Relationships - we use language to build social relationship we have, want to have, or are trying

to have with our listener, reader, or other people, groups, or institutions.

Politics - we use language to convey a perspective on the nature of the distribution of social goods.

Connections - we use language to render certain things connected or relevant to other things

Sign systems and knowledge - we use language to make certain sign systems and certain forms of knowledge and beliefs, that is , to build privilege or prestige for one sign system or knowledge claim over another.

(Gee, 2005: 11-13)

This perspective puts language users into an active position in which they can either build the world of activities, identities and institutions in routine ways or do it in more changeable ways. This is in line with the “performativity” view of identity construction I discussed previously. Identity is thus not a fixed or stable entity, but rather a production that can be presented through language and “Discourse”. In summary, language-in-use is a tool, used with other aspects of “Discourse”, to design or build things.

#### 4.2.2 Tools for discourse analysis

To analyze the seven building tasks in a specific piece of language-in-use, Gee (2005) then introduces some tools that are crucial to how people build identities and activities and recognize identities and activities that others are building around them. The tools engaged in discourse analysis are described below:

Social language - different styles or variety of language for different purposes, e.g. vernacular language and technical language

Discourse - here the Discourse is with capital “D”, which indicates that people build social identities and activities not just through language but also through other “stuff” that isn’t language.

Intertextuality - “when we speak or write, our words often allude to or relate to other ‘texts’

which are said or written” by other people. This type of cross-reference to another spoken or written text is called intertextuality.

Conversation - themes, debates or motifs that has gone on in a specific social group or are familiar by people in the society at large. Such “Conversations” play a role in how language is interpreted and function as a tool for engaging in discourse analysis.

Situated meaning - words have different specific meanings in different context of use. The meanings of words are also related to and vary across different social and cultural groups.

Discourse models - also known as “cultural models” (D’ Andrade, 1995; Dorothy and Naomi, 1987; Shore, 1996; Bartlett and Dorothy, 2002, cited by Gee, 2005: 60), referring to “a totally or partially unconscious explanatory theory or ‘storyline’ connected to a word or concept-bits and pieces of which are distributed across different people in a social group”-that enables us to make sense of words and the meaning.

(Gee, 2005: 20-94)

From the above descriptions, it is evident these tools can function as a particularly useful theoretical lens for an integrated view of the features of Chinese diasporic identities from the following two angles. Primarily, the formation and performance of diasporic identities vary for different ethnic groups in different places where diaspora settled. Gee’s analysis tools emphasize the importance of the “context” in which languages signal specific meanings. As a specific location, New Zealand is a specific context for Chinese diaspora and thus enables their specific characteristics of identity and community formation with the current analysis of language-in-use closely linked to that larger social context. Secondly, a specific Discourse is usually named and recognized by members of the culture in which it is found. As the above tools of Discourse analysis are an important means to find a common vocabulary in doing research across cultures they are applied in this thesis to analyze the distinctive form of cultural identity on the web.

Drawing from Gee’s framework, this thesis focuses on specific online discourse in order to explore a Chinese diaspora’s distinct identity formation. Gee’s ideology

provides a comprehensive theoretical framework for discourse analysis and is a particularly useful theoretical guide for studying the features of Chinese diaspora identities but it provides only one approach and method to study how language is used in social interaction. There are other methods or devices which are helpful to conduct the current discourse analysis.

#### **4.3 Socio-psychological perspective - positioning self in discourse**

Exploring online identity formation should not only focus on the analysis of the discourse itself, but also involve the study of people; as the social actors are at the most basic level of analysis of this process. Sociologists and psychologists argue that people act according to how they make sense of the world (Wetherell et al., 2001). Aligning with this view, I employ social and psychological thinking about people's minds, selves and sense-making in this thesis to investigate the discursive construction of the Chinese diaspora's identity.

Having discussed "self-narrative" in the preceding theoretical chapter, I would like to apply its idea as a means to uncover the discursive construction of the self, specifically by addressing the process of "positioning the self in discourse". As I said earlier, some social and psychological scholars consider self-narrative as a form of social interaction or public discourse, and so to take on a narrative is to take on a position of some kind from which one speaks (Gergen, 2001; Davies and Harre, 2001). From this perspective, self-narrative and self-positioning could be seen as means by which people identify the self and communicate their identities to others (Gergen, 2001; Davies and Harre, 2001). Therefore, the identity of a human being doesn't pre-exist "out there", but can be constructed or performed by language and social interaction. The understanding of the process of positioning self in discourse could enable us to reveal how the identity is continuously constructed and reconstructed through social interaction.



Focusing on one crucial property of narratives and stories, Davis and Harre (2001) raised another important term: “positioning”. Building on social psychological thinking on selfhood, Davis and Harre explored the idea of “positioning” so as to facilitate the new views of discursive psychology on language and discourse. For instance, Davis and Harre defined “discourse” as “the institutionalized use of language”, and “discursive practice” as “all the ways in which people actively produce social and psychological realities” (2001: 262). It is significant for this definition of discourse that it creates some sense of human agency in that people actively produce social realities. Positioning, according to Davis and Harre (2001: 264), is therefore the “discursive process whereby selves are located in conversation as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines”. This discursiveness signals how we create our explanatory process, how we enable understanding of the world and interpret the reality from our own sensemaking perspectives. The production of self is multiple and thus involving the following processes:

1. Learning of the categories which include some people and exclude others, (e.g. male/female, father/daughter);
2. Participating in the various discursive practices through which meanings are allocated to those categories. (e.g. conversation, speech and talk)
3. Positioning self according to the categories and story lines. This involves imaginatively positioning oneself as if one belongs in one category and not in the other (e.g. as girl and not boy, or good girl and not bad girl);
4. Recognition of oneself as having characteristics that locate oneself as a member of various sub classes of dichotomous categories, and thus seeing the world from the perspective of one so positioned. This recognition generates an emotional commitment to the category membership and the development of a moral system organized around the belonging.
5. All four processes arise in relation to a theory of the self in which a person understands themselves as historically continuous and unitary.

(Davis and Harre, 2001: 263-264)

There may be experience of contradictory positions during the process. However, such

contradictions do not define different people; but rather, they provide the dynamic for understanding (Haug, 1987). Agreeing with this perspective, Davis and Harre (2001: 64) also regard the term position as the appropriate expression of the “discursive production of a diversity of selves” in the course of conversational interactions. Furthermore, they identify two important ways of positioning - “interactive positioning in which what one person says positions another; and reflexive positioning in which one positions oneself”. It is worth noting here that they don’t assume positioning as necessarily intentional in either case. Instead, Davis and Harre argued that “one lives one’s life in terms of one’s ongoingly produced self, whoever might be responsible for its production” (2001: 264).

The current study is inspired by the above psychological thinking on discursive production of selfhood. However, this study is less interested in analyzing the “conversational” or “speech” situations; rather, it uses this framework to closely examine the online discourse among the Chinese diasporic community in New Zealand. The online articles and forum postings can also be considered as “the performance of languages available in the public sphere”; sharing many similar features with conversations, narratives and speeches. In short, the above theoretical approach within psychological principle, as elaborated above, would be threaded through the analysis of online discourse in [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz).

#### **4.4 Perspectives from Fairclough’s CDA paradigm - intertextuality**

As discussed previously, intertextuality is an important analytical tool for discourse analysis. Gee’s description of intertextuality provides a way to conceptualize the term and understand its meaning. However, as a method and thinking device, the approach of intertextuality within Fairclough’s *CDA* framework is found especially useful in conducting the current research. More specifically, it provides a method for empirical study on identity representations of various social actors in texts by drawing

intertextual features.

In Fairclough's characterization, intertextuality is "the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth" (1992: 84). Indeed, as Leitch (1983) noted, "prior texts reside in present texts"; that all texts consist of fragments or elements of previous texts. Fairclough identified two categories of intertextuality, namely, the "manifest intertextuality" and "constitutive intertextuality". Manifest intertextuality refers to "how quoted utterances are selected, changed, and contextualized", while constitutive intertextuality "is concerned with how texts are made up of heterogeneous elements: generic conventions, discourse types, register, and style" (1992: 85). Fairclough said the approach of intertextuality allows researchers to get closer to the text by involving "outside" information. In this sense, intertextual analysis sees texts as the results of social practices that are discursively produced in broader context.

In order to investigate the social discourses and intertextuality, Fairclough further introduced three analytical perspectives towards text - "genres (with text as action)", "discourses (with text as representations)" and "styles (with text as identification)" (2003: 17). Fairclough sees genres as "the specifically discoursal aspects of ways of acting and interacting in the course of social events" (2003: 65). For instance, news reports and interviews are different genres. Discourses, according to Fairclough, are "ways of representing aspects of the world - the processes, relations and structures of the material world, the 'mental world' of thoughts, feelings, beliefs and so forth, and the social world" (2003: 124). Different groups of people may produce different discourses as they hold different perspectives of the world. So analyzing discourses can help us perceive various social relations and personal identities represented by text. Fairclough also referred to styles as "the discoursal aspect of ways of being and identities", which are "linked to the process of identification - how people identify themselves and are identified by others" (2003: 159). Studying style and identification can lead to the

understanding of the relative social identities and evaluation process of individuals who participate in social events.

The above three concerns of discourse and intertextuality can be shaped by other textual features. Fairclough (2003) discussed two such textual features; “modality” and “evaluation”. Modality refers to the author’s commitment to “truth” and “obligation”; and evaluation involves the author’s commitment to “values” (good or bad, right or wrong). Fairclough also assumed that what people commit themselves to in texts is an important part of how they identify themselves; the texturing of identities (2003: 164). In this sense, these two analytical perspectives and resources raised by Fairclough allow researchers to identify various social identities produced in specific texts and discourses. Therefore, the three analytical aspects Fairclough offered in his approach to intertextuality consider texts as multidimensional material, constituted by a variety of intertextual resources, so that we can address a range of social relations and identities embedded in texts.

The current research follows the main theories within Gee’s discourse analysis framework- the analysis of “how languages are recruited ‘on site’ to enact specific social activities and social identities” (2005:1). But it also employs socio-psychological thinking of “self-narrative”, “self-positioning” and “self-construction”, alongside Fairclough’s perspectives of intertextuality, as methods to investigate the discursive construction of the Chinese diaspora’s identity during the textual practices in the Skykiwi website.

#### **4.5 Research framework**

As I have already said, [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz) is one of only a few New Zealand-based diasporic media forms, and one of the very few online ones. So the example provides me with the rare opportunity to study online practices of the Chinese diasporic

community in a specific location. By employing a qualitative research method, discourse analysis, this thesis attempts to capture the distinctiveness of the Chinese diaspora's acts of making sense and deploying identity during the interaction in [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz).

#### 4.5.1 Research question

As mentioned before, identity formation among diaspora is a highly complex process. By drawing on various perspectives and levels of discourse analysis, it is expected to explore the overall topic for inquiry of this study: *What are the distinctive characteristics of online identity construction among Chinese diaspora in [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz)?* The main research question includes the following three sub-questions also:

1. How do Chinese diaspora construct identities within discourses in [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz)?
2. How do Chinese diaspora form a sense of cultural belonging through online discussions that facilitates their virtual community building?
3. How do Chinese diaspora negotiate multiple identities on the site and thereby enable hybrid formations?

Accordingly, the purpose of this study is twofold:

1. To identify the discursive process of identity formation among the Chinese online community in [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz) and thus to propose an example of one diasporic cultural space in which diaspora tend to form hybrid identities through online interactions.
2. To explore the role of such online cultural space in the Chinese diaspora's integration into the host society and orientation towards the new identity.

The general research design is qualitative, exploratory, descriptive and contextual and

various levels and perspectives of discourse analysis have been employed. Gee's approach to the analysis of language-in-use is applied as a major heuristic device to conduct the whole analysis. The use of psychological thinking on self and identity helps to minimize the limitations of research that employs only one approach or perspective. More importantly, methodological thinking with multi-angles is likely to provide a relatively comprehensive understanding of a research issue.

#### 4.5.2 Research design

The design of study entirely follows qualitative inquiry since qualitative research is about the study of "social processes, how people make sense and create meaning, and what their lived experiences are like" (Staller, 2010: 1159). The identity construction of diaspora is a form of social process that involves people's specific sense-making of others and the world. So the cyberspace of [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz) provides me with a "natural environment"<sup>13</sup> (Staller, 2010) within which I can observe how Chinese diaspora act to make sense of their lives in New Zealand and deploy identity in virtual community. Moreover, I am interested in studying how the knowledge of identity is culturally situated in languages by employing discourse analysis among various other qualitative research methods. The main analysis and findings are composed of three sections; three samples as thread, discourse analysis of twenty articles (Appendix B) and discourse analysis of forum discussions (Appendix C).

##### *FrontPage articles*

The study samples of the first two sections are twenty articles selected from the front page of [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz), which cover a wide range of discourse genres, such as news reports, self-narratives, announcements, poems and so on. From the period of March 2009 to September 2009, I browsed the [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz) each week and

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<sup>13</sup>According to Staller (2010: 1161), "qualitative studies most often take place in natural environments, which allows researchers to observe how people live and act in the real world. For this reason, they are likely to study people and things 'in the field', which can refer to any natural environment such as social agencies, prisons, schools, rural communities, urban neighborhoods, hospitals, police stations, or even cyberspace".

finally selected twenty articles published on the front page of the site, under the columns of “New Zealand news”, “hot topics within the week”, “hot articles from forums” and “Skykiwi announcements and activities”.

To gather the research material, I used a purposive approach as sampling strategy because I was looking for material that raised particular issues, rather than gathering typical texts. Staller (2010: 1161) said that “qualitative researchers are more apt to use some form of purposive sampling. They might seek out people, cases, events, or communities because they are extreme, critical, typical, or atypical”. For this study, I am especially interested in looking at content about the life experience of Chinese diaspora in New Zealand. More specifically, there are some criteria that made articles stand out for me to be chosen: 1) The social actors are Chinese diaspora now living in New Zealand; 2) The content explicitly or implicitly presents social actors’ identities; 3) The content involves cultural difference/conflict between home and host country and the social actors’ sense-making to these differences; 4) The social actors’ attitudes or reactions towards “cultural shock”, or the negotiation of two cultural identities.

Among the content I browsed on the website, twenty articles were selected as material that particularly raised issues about cultural conflict and negotiation, identity performance and choice, and various sense-making processes within the Chinese diaspora in New Zealand. The material is listed below, in terms of article titles, sources, retrieved dates and article genres:

1. 奥克兰华人橄榄球队公告 (announcement)  
Auckland Huaren Rugby Team Announcement  
Source: Skykiwi forum, retrieved from the website on 21-01-2009
2. 新西兰汕头籍作家林爽研究毛利文化让她蜚声海外 (news report)  
Renowned overseas for researching Maori culture: New Zealand Shantou writer Lin Shuang  
Source: Special Region Evening, published on 02-12-2008
3. Beijing or Christchurch, It Is A Question (poem)

Source: Skykiwi forum, retrieved from the website on 27-03-2009

4. 新西兰买鞋要用处方,鞋合不合适, 医生更清楚 (news report)

Buying shoes needs prescription in New Zealand: shoes comfortable or not, doctors know better

Source: Haixiadushi newspaper, published on 13-10-2009

5. 中国留学生在新西兰用感冒药做原料提炼制造毒品被遣返(news report)

Chinese student was repatriated because of using coldrex to produce drug in New Zealand

Source: Jinghua Times, published on 30-06-2009

6. 透视新西兰华人婚姻现状 (news report)

Perspectives on the marriage of New Zealand Huaren

Source: Xinminqiaobao newspaper, published on 05-11-2004

7. 留学生感悟: 来新第一课让我感受到新西兰特殊的人性化关怀 (news report)

Overseas student's sense of the first class in New Zealand - full of special human care

Source: Zhongguangjiaoyu, published on 13-09-2010

8. 新西兰的交通发达但能否少些"NO EXIT" 多一些开心之路 (personal work)

New Zealand has advanced transportation system. But if less "No Exit", then more "Fun Road" there will be.

Source: Chinese culture salon, published on 09-09-2010

9. ANZ全情赞助华社服2010庆中秋亚洲美食文化节 (news report)

ANZ whole-hearted sponsorship - 2010 Chinese community Services Center celebrating Mid-Autumn Asian Cuisine Festival

Source: Skykiwi Editorial department, published on 02-09-2010

10. 《我的Kiwi生活》征文大赛一等奖得主: 留学生才女来自深圳(news report)

"My Kiwi Life" Essay contest prize winner: talented student from Shenzhen

Source: Skykiwi editorial department, published on 07-09-2010

11. 冰冷尖刀抵喉咙新西兰华人遭劫 (news report)

Cold sharp knife against the throat - New Zealand Huaren encountering robbery

Source: Skykiwi editorial department, published on 20-07-2005

12. 聚焦新西兰华人绑架案: 宽容却不宽恕 (personal work)

Focusing on the New Zealand Huaren kidnapping crimes: tolerance but not forgiveness



Source: Skykiwi editorial department, published on 19-03-2005

13. 探讨海外华人的生活经历新西兰华人论坛将举行 (news report)

Discussing life experiences of overseas Huaren - New Zealand Huaren Forum will be held

Source: Overseas Chinese Net, published on 18-08-2007

14. 奥克兰孔子学院优秀考生获邀参加夏令营和奖学金学习班 (announcement)

Excellent students of Auckland Confucius Institute invited to participate in summer camp and scholarship classes

Source: Auckland Confucius Institute, published on 22-09-2010

15. 一次见面的承诺 (personal work)

The Commitment to one meet

Source: Chinese Lifeline, published on 11-03-2009

16. 新西兰中学生各抒己见：学习汉语并非必不可少 (news report)

New Zealand high school students expressing their views: Learning Chinese is not that essential

Source: Chinese education web, published on 16-08-2010

17. 盼爱情天长地久避开不吉利的“寡妇年”新西兰华人忙结婚 (news report)

Hope to avoid the unlucky “Widow Year” and wish love lasting long - New Zealand Huaren busy for wedding

Source: China-New Zealand Net, published on 05-02-2010

18. “民以食为天”——感受新西兰华人餐馆的今昔变迁 (news report)

“Bread is the staff of life” - the changes of Chinese restaurants in New Zealand

Source: China-New Zealand Net, published on 19-01-2010

19. 新西兰震区救援工作专业有序 (news report)

New Zealand earthquake relief work is professional and in order

Source: Xinhua Net, published on 10-09-2010

20. 我觉得在新西兰的华人生活是丰富多彩的 (personal work)

I think the life of Huaren in New Zealand is varied and colorful

Source: Skykiwi editorial department, published on 22-03-2006

### ***Discussion forums***

The second part is the analysis of forum postings. Online forums are the typical

interactive elements of the Skykiwi website, and so attract most concerns from web users. With Chinese as the dominant language used there, this website has many distinct sub-forums, covering a range of topics from immigration, working, study, trading, to everyday life. When entering the forum, visitors will find a directory page with posting topics listed in chronological order. There are two available chronological orders for listing: 1) from the most to the least recent time according to the last replied-to posting; and 2) the most to the least recent from the initial posting.

It should be mentioned here that posting data for the current study came from the “last replied-to posting” time order. It reflects that these discussions have been carried out for a relatively long time with enough material for analysis. The more recent the last replied-to posting, the more popular or interesting the discussion is. In the directory page, the hot topics and recommended postings are added with a special logo and kept listed in the top of the front page for a certain period of time (several weeks or even months) by the website moderator. The forum is open to anyone who browses the website, but only registered users can initiate topics of discussion and reply to messages.

I also used a purposive sampling approach to choose discussions from the forums to study. I particularly looked at discussions with both consonant viewpoints and polarised opinions in terms of sense-making about cultural differences, negotiation of identities and virtual community building. Another main criterion is that these discussions contained a large number of comments, from a sub-sample of the 20 articles above. Five discussions were chosen from different sub-forums that referred to various topics and aspects of living in New Zealand. Moreover, these discussions were all marked with a “hot topic” logo, and so have been listed on the top of the forum front-page for a period of time by moderators, which in turn would attract more concerns and comments. Five discussions are shown in the following chart:

<b>Sub-forum names</b>	<b>Posting topics</b>
钓鱼吧 Let's go fishing	出海钓鱼满载而归 (posted at 18/04/2011) Back from the sea with harvest (hot topic)
NZ 上班族 Working fellows in NZ	新西兰买保险 (posted at 19/03/2011) Buying life insurance in New Zealand
上帝的花园基督城 Garden of god - Christchurch	品尝肯德基新产品 (posted at 05/06/2011) KFC new product – “Double Down”
心情涂鸦 In the mood for writing	初到新西兰的感受 ( posted at 27/05/2011) Feelings of first arrival in New Zealand (hot topic)
上帝的花园基督城 Garden of god - Christchurch	中国华人肉店 (posted at 24/05/2011) Chinese butcher's in church corner

With regard to the above analysis method and approach, a few points need to be clarified here. Firstly, my Chinese background and overseas experience has to be considered as part of the research that I have shared cultural understanding of Chinese diaspora, which assists in tracing the discourse practices and interpreting the data. Being a Chinese diaspora myself, I have the knowledge of Chinese culture and I am also aware of cultural shock that other Chinese diaspora may encounter. This is an advantage to me to look for the clues in Chinese language, especially the clues of discourse refering “cultural difference” in Skykiwi. It is also resonable for me to claim “distinctive characteristic” in the analysis as I am sensitive about the values of Chinese culture that shapes Chinese diaspora’s way of thinking. Meanwhile, I acknowledge that my interpretation of material is also shaped by Chinese cultural background and that another researcher might have seen things differently. However, the values of a Chinese researcher tracing the discourse practices and identity formation of Chinese in New Zealand are still noticeable and become a great strength of this thesis.

Secondly, one of the most prominent constraints on this study lies in translation of the

material. All material retrieved from the website was originally in the Chinese language and characters. I have devoted a lot of work to translation, aiming at maintaining the original meaning and tone, instead of merely translating each exact word. However, differences do exist between English and Chinese equivalent terms, including single words and grammar. The current discourse analysis includes large amount of textual analysis that primarily concerns specific words. For this reason, my personal translations and interpretations of the original texts inevitably affect the analysis. I can argue the material sense I am translating is very similar to the original one. Moreover, I have kept some key words and terms in Chinese, when they do not seem to have precise English equivalents. Some of these terms are crucial for the understanding of Chinese identity and are frequently seen in texts. For instance, the terms “Huaren”, “Huayi” and “Huaqiao”, are used to describe different varieties of overseas Chinese in academic work, as explained in Chapter 2.

The chosen materials make up a small part of all the articles and postings circulated in <http://www.skykiwi.co.nz>. These materials may not be the most perfect ones and of course it is not possible to finally justify their choice. But they were chosen purposively since they contained distinctive texts of identity presentations that I am looking for. Additionally, although the current research mainly concerns people, the studied site [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz) is an open public space which allows anyone who has registered as users to view the online content and participate in the discussions. No significant ethical issues were experienced. In particular, no behaviours or understandings of the people on the site were affected by my research.

In the following chapters, I particularly employ the analytical tool of “Discourse models” in the analysis. With this term, the primary concern of this study emerges as the task of building various Discourse models which demonstrate distinctive identity performances as shared values in Skykiwi. According to Gee’s (2005: 83) framework, discourse models are “unconscious theories that people often hold to make sense of the world and their experiences in it”. Discourse models are important tools of inquiry

because they mediate between the local interactional work we do in carrying out what Gee(2005: 61) described as “building tasks” (7 building tasks including identity) and Discourse as they operate to create the complex patterns of institutions and cultures across societies and history. In other words, Discourse models mediate the discourse with a little “d” and Discourse with a big “D”. Therefore, the analysis of Discourse models implied by key words and phrases, together with analysis of other linguistic details, social languages<sup>14</sup> and intertextuality, will uncover how social activities and socially situated identities are being enacted or recognized through the materials. Each analytical category in the following chapters may lead to a Discourse model and some may lead to the same Discourse model, because Gee argued that “Discourse models are shared across a great many different discourses, while others might be restricted to just one or a few discourse” (2005: 84). Moreover, Discourse models could be partial, inconsistent and even conflict. Discourse models are deeply implicated in “politics”<sup>15</sup> where social goods are at stake, embedding assumptions about what is “appropriate, typical, or normal” (2005: 84). By building various Discourse models, I may have a chance to find out the socially and culturally shared values produced through online interactions and the discursive negotiation of identities among Chinese diaspora.

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<sup>14</sup> According to Bakhtin (1986), accounts or stories are linguistically expressed in different “social languages” (different socially significant varieties of language). All languages, like English or French, are composed of many different social languages. Social languages are what we learn and what we speak.


<sup>15</sup> Here politics refers to anything and any place (talk, texts, media, action, interaction, institutions) where “social goods are at stake, things such as power, status, or valued knowledge, positions, or possessions”. Discourse models are, through and through, political (Gee, 2005: 84).

## Chapter 5. Starting Discourse Analysis - Three Sample

### Articles as a Pilot Stage

This chapter starts with the preliminary discourse analysis of three sample articles from [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz). As this research focuses on the identity work produced by Chinese diaspora on a specific site in New Zealand, I look especially at the various patterns of identity construction in online discourse and select a number of text materials according to the criteria. In this chapter, I analyze three articles since they all contain a number of distinctive identity work produced in Skykiwi. Hence, this chapter is the first stage in exploring the specific patterns of identity performances on Skykiwi, functioning as a pilot stage for the whole research.

The analysis of particular words in any given text is commonly the first stage for scholars to start discourse analysis, especially for those words and phrases with frequent appearance in the text (Fowler, 1991; Fairclough, 1995a; and Richardson, 2007). According to Fairclough (1995a:104), there are two major levels of discourse analysis: “the first has to do with the structuring of propositions, the second with the combination and sequencing of propositions”. So a linguistic analysis of a given text should start from the Micro-level, the analysis of words, then to sentences, and towards the Macro-level, the analysis of the organization of meaning across a whole text. Richardson (2007: 47) illustrated this process of analysis by the following diagram:

Structuring of Propositions	Words (lexis) Sentences1 (syntax and transitivity) Sentences 2(modality) Presupposition	Micro-textual analysis 
Combing proposition	Rhetoric Narrative	Macro-textual analysis

The current study's analysis borrows from the main idea of this scholarly framework, that is, from Micro-textual analysis to Macro-textual analysis. The analysis of the textual features of texts will then be used to explore wider discursive practices, such as conversion thinking, sense-making and intertextuality.

## 5.1 Key words of identity claims

Key words of explicit as well as implicit claims for social actors' identities have been found in three selected sample articles. The following section begins with analysis of these key words and phrases which refer to Chinese diaspora identities in the given texts.

Attention should be paid to such key words and phrases as they may provide clues for identification of significant social relationships and values.

### 5.1.1 Explicit identity claims

First and foremost, one of the most significant findings of materials in the Skykiwi website is the explicit claims of social actors' identities. More specifically, all the authors of three sample articles tend to identify their "differences" with New Zealanders in the texts by the expression of "host country+origin+social actors" pattern. For instance, the followings are the headlines of the two sample articles:

1. 奥克兰 **华人** 橄榄球队公告  
Auckland **Huaren** Rugby Team Announcement
2. 新西兰 **汕头籍** 作家林爽研究毛利文化让她蜚声海外  
Renowned overseas for researching Maori culture: New Zealand **Shantou** writer Lin Shuang

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the word "Huaren" is the most commonly used version of

terms referring to overseas Chinese in recent literature. In the case of the first article the word “Huaren” appears in the title, explicitly targeting overseas Chinese as readers and participants from the very beginning. The word “Huaren” is also frequently found in the article’s content referring to overseas Chinese in New Zealand. With the second article, Shantou is a city of Guangdong Province in China. We find a “host country+origin+social actor’s name” pattern here that explicitly reveals the social actors as Chinese who now live in New Zealand. Then in the first paragraphs of these two articles, similar claims have been stressed and repeated:

1. 我们-**旅居**新西兰多年。  
我们-都是奥克兰**华人**橄榄球队的一员。  
We—have **resided** in New Zealand for many years  
We—are members of Auckland **Huaren** Rugby Team
2. 毛利文化与华夏文化、新西兰与汉俳诗……这些似乎让人难以联系在一起的事物，却因为**旅居**新西兰的**汕头籍**作家林爽而紧密地联系在一起。  
Maori culture and Chinese culture, New Zealand and “Han Pai” (Haiku poetry Han).., which seem to be mutually irrelevant issues, but are linked closely because **Shantou** writer Lin Shuang **resided** in New Zealand.

Moreover, explicit identity claim has also been found in the middle part of sample 3:

--...I used to think ...  
--Oh I must go home as soon as I finish my studies!  
--But gradually, I am changing my mind.  
--I **immigrated**...

Besides the repeated words of “Huaren” and “Shantou”, the key words “resided” and “immigrated” also directly demonstrate the social actors’ current status in a host country. They are not New Zealanders but currently live in New Zealand. The word “reside” is translated from two Chinese characteristics in original articles - “Lvju” (**旅居**) which means reside temporarily or stay for a certain length of time away from home (e.g., as a guest, traveler, or temporary worker). I mention this point here because the word “reside” has the closest meaning to “Lvju”, however, still not the absolutely same meaning with its corresponding Chinese characters.



Seen from the above evidence, explicit identity claims appear in all three sample articles in spite of their different “text genres” (Sample one is an announcement; sample 2 is a news article; sample 3 is a poem). By using the expression of a “host country+origin+social actor” pattern, the authors in three articles tend to identify their “difference” to New Zealanders from the very beginning. We could assume they may have strong senses of belonging to their home country and so demonstrate their Chinese origins in a clear and direct way. The word “reside” reveals only that the social actors temporarily stay in New Zealand for a certain period of time. Whether they would settle down or immigrate is uncertain. This uncertainty indicates their struggling positions between two countries and even two cultural identities, which is just like the title of sample 3 article - Beijing or Christchurch; it is a question.

The explicit identity claims patterns here are not what are described by Fowler et al. (1979) as “overlexicalisation”. But, rather, these are markers of specific identity claims I would expect to find in the Skykiwi online discourses. Moreover, these markers do not only appear in a few texts, but are frequently found in the other online texts on the website. I will give further testimony to this point in the following chapter. Of course the issue of “who we are” is also managed in other ways in Skykiwi discourse, so explicit identity claims lead to one Discourse model:

1. **Chinese diaspora appear to identify themselves as different from New Zealanders and emphasize their Chinese origins in identity claims.**

Identity performance is always a complex, multiple and discursively contested matter. Much of this work is through implicit claims to identity.

### 5.1.2 Implicit identity claims

The above analysis is based on explicit claims of social actors’ identity. However,

there are also many implicit discourses that are relevant to social identity in situation. Next I will discuss the implicit identity claims in three sample articles. Firstly, in the title of the English poem (sample 3),

--Beijing or Christchurch, it is a question

We can see that two different cities may present two different kinds of identities or even two different ways of life. The title here implies a struggling position for the social actor between two cities or two identities. And we may assume in the first place that the author tends to have a relationship with either of the two places, that is, he is a Chinese or a New Zealander. Then in the first paragraph:

--The first time when I got Christchurch...

--I never thought one day I would stay here.

--Come on it is *some place* too far away from *home*!

--Not my destination!...

Seen from the above texts, the phrase “some place” refers to Christchurch, while the word “home” means “Beijing”. Now we know the author is a Chinese from Beijing and has stayed in Christchurch for a period of time as diaspora. Furthermore, it is obvious that the author presents a strong emotional tie to Beijing as he called it “home”; but, he called Christchurch only “some place” which may refer to any place he has ever come across. Although these key words are not explicit identity claims, they fit well into the first discourse model I built above that “Chinese diaspora tend to emphasize their Chinese origin in identity claims”. Thus, the implicit identity claim is found in the first paragraph of the sample 3 to reveal the social actor’s identity.

Another example of implicit identity claim is found in the descriptions of the host country, which also indicate the social actors’ identities in a connoted way. The following texts of three sample articles all contain similar descriptions of New Zealand, that is, “the hometown of white clouds”:

Sample article 1: 新西兰，山青水色，烟波浩渺。这里是 *白云的故乡*，南半球的翡翠，地球上最后一块 *净土*。

NZ ... is the *hometown of white clouds*; is the jade of Southern hemisphere; and is the last *pure land* of the world.

Sample article 2: 1990年，她随丈夫从东方明珠的香港移居 *白云之乡* 的新西兰。

In 1990, she moved from the Eastern Pearl—Hong Kong, to the *hometown of white clouds*—New Zealand with her husband.

Sample article 3: I love the *clouds* (Christchurch) here, turning pinky before dusk, filling up the sky.

The descriptions of “the hometown of white clouds” and “pure land” seem to be exaggerated and confused expressions for people from other countries since: 1) New Zealand is not the only country which has the beauty of blue sky and white clouds, let alone the “hometown” of such natural scenes; 2) New Zealand is of course not the pure land at all - no land is actually “pure” in the world. However, it is very easy to make sense of this point as Chinese. In Chinese culture, the expressions of “the hometown of white clouds” and “the pure land” have often been used by poets or writers to refer to an ideal living environment since ancient times. They are symbols of a peaceful, clean and beautiful land where most people dream to live. These key words and phrases reveal the authors’ ethnic identities as Chinese, and their distinct mode of understanding and sense-making in regard to New Zealand. So this example of implicit identity claim is contributing to a sense of difference from New Zealanders, which fits into the first discourse model - Chinese diaspora appear to identify themselves as different from New Zealanders. Furthermore, the above texts also reveal the sense of a positive attitude towards New Zealand through a complimentary and laudatory tone.

## 5.2 Situated meanings of words

All types of words, including nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, carry connoted as well as denoted meanings (Richardson, 2007). The same word may contain different

meanings in different situations for different social groups. In terms of discourse on the Skykiwi website, analysis of situated meanings will help in studying the complex performance of Chinese diaspora identities.

### 5.2.1 Naming and reference to social actors' identities

How people are named in discourse could reflect different social identities they occupied as well as the emphasis on certain identity that the discourse would address. According to Richardson, “we all simultaneously possess a range of identities, roles and characteristics that could be used to describe us equally accurately but not with the same meaning” (2007: 49). This raises the question: are these national/cultural identity markers the main ones that people use in Skykiwi, e.g. they don't call themselves primarily students or artists or women or men or Asian or anything else, but primarily Chinese residing in New Zealand? Looking again at sample articles, besides the emphasis on Chinese origins that the naming addresses, the naming of social actors' identities as “Auckland Huaren” and “New Zealand Shantou writer” reflects their dual identities as well - they are a combination of Chinese and New Zealanders. This way of naming people in discourse in Skykiwi not only reveals social actors' current statuses in host countries, but also indicates their bi-cultural or dual cultural sense-making system.

The following key words with situated meaning could prove that the references to social actors represent more than one cultural meaning system about them. For example, from sample article 1:

- a. ~~我们~~旅居新西兰多年;  
~~我们~~都是奥克兰华人橄榄球队的一员。  
--We have resided in New Zealand for many years  
--We are members of Auckland Huaren Rugby Team
- b. 同时作为**东道主**, ~~我们~~也希望为 2011 年新西兰橄榄球世界杯营造团结, 积极, 向上的人文环境做出更大的贡献。

“Meanwhile as the *hosts* of ‘2011 New Zealand Rugby World Cup’, *we* also hope to make our own contributions to establish a united, positive and upbeat match environment in New Zealand.”

The author is building a situated meaning for the word “we”. The word “we”, representing the social actors, refers to the Chinese people residing in New Zealand who play rugby in the first situation; while the word “we” in the second sentence refers to the “hosts” who are assumed to have strong emotional ties or a sense of belonging to New Zealand society as “we have responsibilities to contribute to New Zealand”. Belonging to two social groups proves that Chinese diaspora tend to make use of the two cultural identities. So there is no simple rejection of one identity against another, but a hybrid position that fuses two cultures. As I discussed in Chapter 3, this dual identity or hybrid identity helps “one group to keep its own identity and at the same time be a member of a majority society” (Caspi et al., 2002: 539). It also indicates the possibilities of melting difference and hybrid formation. Thus, we could assume another Discourse model here:

**2. There is a performance of hybrid cultural identity among Chinese diaspora in Skykiwi online discourse where Chinese diaspora also regard themselves as members of the host country.**

### 5.2.2 Making sense of the host country

Furthermore, descriptions of the host country will also reflect the social actors’ identity from a particular aspect. Taking previous examples of the descriptions of New Zealand’s clouds again:

Sample article 1: 新西兰，山青水色，烟波浩渺。这里是长白云的故乡，南半球的翡翠，地球上最后一片净土。

NZ ... is the *hometown of white clouds*...; is the jade of the Southern hemisphere; and is the last *pure land* of the world.

Sample article 2: 1990年，她随丈夫从东方明珠的香港移居白云之乡的新西兰

In 1990, she moved from the Eastern Pearl—Hong Kong, to the *hometown of white clouds*-New Zealand with her husband.

Sample article 3: I love the clouds (Christchurch) here, turning pinky before dusk, filling up the sky.

The phrase “hometown of white clouds” may be an ordinary description about a sunny day for people from other countries. However, in these articles written by Chinese, the expression has situated meaning. As I said previously, such descriptions tend to generate a sense of positive attitude towards New Zealand through a complimentary and laudatory tone. Since there is no actual “pure land” in the world, this way of description in discourse means New Zealand is a sacred and ideal place from a Chinese sense-making mode. These expressions signal Chinese distinct sense-making of the host country - they are not New Zealanders; but they have a high evaluation of New Zealand and orient towards New Zealand in Chinese terms. Therefore, the situated meaning of descriptions about the host country tends to build another two Discourse models here:

**3. The Chinese diasporic discourse on Skykiwi combines easily with a positive attitude towards the host country, without exclusiveness or simple rejection.**

**4. Chinese diaspora still maintain their Chinese cultural meaning system to make sense of lives in New Zealand.**

Another example, from sample article 3:

- a. --The first time when I got Christchurch...  
--I never thought one day I would stay here.  
--Come on it is some place too far away from *home*!  
--Not my destination!...
- b. --One day, I suddenly start realizing  
--I’ve come to this land for eight years..  
--MY DAMN GOOD EIGHT YEARS!..  
--I start asking myself  
--Isn’t it another *hometown* for me?

The word “hometown” means the town (or city) where you grew up or where you have your principal residence. The poem makes explicit that the author was born in Beijing and stayed in Christchurch only for the recent eight years. In the first paragraph, the author describes Christchurch as “some place far away” and Beijing as “home”. However, in the next paragraph he starts to regard Christchurch as another hometown for him. The author builds a situated meaning here for the word home, referring to Beijing and Christchurch in different situations. Moreover, it is another example of the second discourse model that the author presents to have two hometowns or even two identities as an immigrant. So there is available within the New Zealand Chinese diaspora a sense of belonging to both home country and host country.

### **5. 3 Conversion thinking**

As mentioned before, all kind of words have connoted meanings as well as denoted meanings in different situations for different groups of people. Much of the time, written texts communicate unstated but implied meanings. A key process of identity work identified in these texts is presupposition. However, sometimes these types of words could even invite us to think the opposite of a situation initially apparent in a given context, especially when certain discourses are pragmatically repeated and stressed. I called the above way of analyzing discourse as “conversion thinking” in this section, which could help me to get unstated but implied information relevant to social actors’ identities. Thus, both as the important linguistic tools of discourse analysis and a way of conversion thinking, presupposition and repeated and stressed discourse help me to explore the hidden meanings that are beyond the manifest texts.

### 5.3.1 Presupposition

Discourse analysis isn't involved only in the analysis of the obvious meaning that is explicitly stated in texts, but also deals with the implicit or presupposed meanings of texts. According to Richardson (2007: 63), a presupposition is "a taken-for-granted, implicit claim embedded within the explicit meaning of a text or utterance". Within a variety of ways in texts of marking presupposition, Reah (2002: 106) listed three linguistic structures common to presupposed meaning. Here I will discuss mainly the first stream - certain words, such as change of state verbs (stop, begin, continue) or implicative verbs (manage, forget) which invoke presupposed meaning.

#### Sample article 1:

- a. 届时，奥华队将为全华人形象的**提升**作出我们自己应有的贡献，这也是球队创建的初衷目的。  
At that time, "Auhua Team" will be able to *enhance* the entire Huaren images, which is also the initial purpose to establish this rugby team.
- b. 促进华人之间与华人体质的和谐发展和提高，让我们共同展现华人正面而积极向上的形象，竭尽全力为华人在海外地位的**提高**尽显出自己的力量。  
We will also try our best to accelerate the harmonious development between Huaren and their body-building, to demonstrate the positive and highly motivated images of Huaren and to *enhance* the social status of all overseas Huaren.

#### Sample article 2:

- c. 带领社区的华人移民植树，向小朋友讲解环保常识，努力**改变**西方人认为华人不环保的坏印象。  
They helped Huaren of neighborhood to plant trees and teach knowledge of environmental protection to children, which is greatly *changing* western people's opinion towards images of Huaren that Huaren are not caring about environment at all.

Seen from the above texts, the word "enhance" presupposed a movement or an action which aimed to improve the previous situation or status. We may assume that Huaren images or social status in New Zealand used to be at a lower level that can be improved through certain efforts. Similarly, the word "change" is also a state verb, presupposing an action to create new status. Both expressions signaled that Huaren might have bad images before or were viewed wrongly by local people in certain ways, which is exactly the disempowering situation diaspora may confront in a



multinational society which I discussed in Chapter 2 - negative problem-oriented portrayal or stereotypical and ideological representation of diaspora people in a host society. However, for the case of Chinese diaspora on Skykiwi, there seems to be discourse talking about actively taking actions to give Chinese in New Zealand a different imagined position in society, for instance, establishing a rugby team and promoting environmental protection. These examples thus lead to the fifth Discourse models:

**5. Chinese diaspora used to have bad images or lower social status in certain ways in the host country, but there is discourse talking about making efforts to change such situations.**

Sample 3:

- a. --One day, I suddenly *start* realizing  
--I've come to this land for eight years..  
--MY DAMN GOOD EIGHT YEARS!..  
--I *start* asking myself  
--Isn't it another hometown for me?
- b. --I used to think ...  
--Oh I must go home as soon as I finish my studies!  
--But gradually, I'm *changing* my mind.  
--I immigrated

Change of state verbs appear more often in this passionate poem, reflecting the changing process of the author's idea of New Zealand. The word "start" presupposed that the author never thought it before. As discussed previously, Beijing used to be the only hometown for the author. However, after eight years' enjoyable life in Christchurch, the previous notion of "home" has been changed. Then the result is "immigrated". This evaluative and concluding textual element indicated that for the author, it doesn't need to have a clear distinction between China and New Zealand since he gradually realized that he could have two home towns and enjoyable lives in both countries. It provides further evidence of the second Discourse model I built above; that Chinese diaspora tend to perform a hybrid cultural identity in Skykiwi

discourse. However, in the wider discourse, an idea was still presupposed that Chinese belong in China. So, it was the author's eight years in New Zealand that changed this "presupposed idea".

### 5.3.2 Pragmatics-repeated and stressed discourse

Unlike the previous analysis, the following examples are a series of repeated and stressed discourses that could invoke conversion thinking. The excessive expressions of certain texts will inspire us to think about the opposite situation in the given context.

Sample article 1:

- a. 新西兰电视三台 **著名的** 时事评论节目《CAMPBELL LIVE》摄制组也专程从上周开始，对奥华队进行采访。而奥华队的首场热身赛，摄制组也将继续进行报道。待录制工作结束后，专题节目将在近期在 **本地主流媒体黄金时段** 播出。

"Campbell Live", the *famous* TV program of channel 3, started to interview "Auhua Team" from last week. The program team will also continue to report on the first warming match of "Auhua Team". After that the feature program will be broadcasted through the local *mainstream media* during the *prime time*.

Sample article 2:

- a. 但作为一位华人移民，她在新西兰却是 **赫赫有名的**。

But as a Huaren immigrant, she is *very famous* in New Zealand.

- b. 1998年，世界上第一部中文原著《新西兰的原住民》在新西兰 **引起轰动**。

In 1998, the first Chinese edition in the world "New Zealand Indigenous People" *aroused great repercussions* in New Zealand.

- c. 经过几年的努力，1998年，一部长达15万字的《新西兰的原住民》终于面世了，**引起了当地主流社会的轰动**，还得到新西兰国家图书馆及国会图书馆收藏。

After several years' efforts, a 150,000-word-book "New Zealand Indigenous People" was published in 1998, *arousing great repercussions* in New Zealand mainstream society and collected in New Zealand National Library as well as Parliament Library.

- d. 不到一年，学员已达百人，引起了当地华文与 **英文报纸** 记者的 **兴趣和关注**。

Within less than a year, the number of participants has reached 100, which *caused the concerns and interests* from local Chinese and *English media*.

The articles' emphasis on "mainstream", "prime time", and "caused the concerns and

interests from English media” signified the importance of current social activity that attracted concerns from the majority in the host country. However, on the other side, such stressed and repeated terms indicated there might not be enough concerns about the Chinese community in New Zealand before; this opportunity is regarded as very important with the need for more attention from mainstream society. Moreover, due to repeated words like “mainstream”, “English media” and “prime time” the text presupposes that Chinese diaspora may suffer a lack of representation in mainstream media. For the same reason, “famous”, “very famous in New Zealand”, and “arouse great repercussions in New Zealand” presented a sense of “proud to be known in host country”, while at the same time conveyed a conversion message that there might not be many Huaren famous in the host country and even that they were silent in society all the time. Therefore, Chinese diaspora may seem to actively engage into mainstream society so as to arouse more local concerns and thereby enhance their representations in media. This assumption is similar to the No. 5 Discourse model above. And the conversion thinking towards these discourse markers suggests there may be a problem here for the Chinese community to work through due to the overlexicalisation (Fowler *et al.*, 1979) of their achievements to integrate into the host country.

#### **5. 4 Sentence construction - modality**

The above lexical analysis focused on words with substantive meanings, such as nouns, verbs and adjectives which comprise the major part of texts. There are also other types of words belonging to smaller categories, such as modality that specifically convey judgments, comment and attitude in text (Richardson, 2007). Among the various semantic criteria proposed to define “modality”, Lyons’ definition seems to be widely accepted as he refers to modality as the speaker’s “opinion or attitude towards the proposition that the sentence expresses or the situation that the proposition describes”(1977: 452). Modality is usually indicated via the use of modal

verbs, (such as may, could, should, will and must), their negations (may not, couldn't, shouldn't, will not and must not) or through adverbs (certainly, probably) (Richardson, 2007). These modal verbs and adverbs do not merely present the information but also imply the judgment, evaluation or comment about the information. More specifically, Fowler (1991: 85) talks about four types in modal logic: a) truth modality, b) obligation modality, c) permission modality and d) desirability modality. The truth modality refers to a scale that varies certainty of the truth, ranging from absolute confidence to lesser certainty by using different modal words (e.g. will>can/may>could/might; certainly>likely). In the case of the obligation modality, the speaker/writer believes that a certain course of action or decision ought to or should be taken by using modal auxiliaries (e.g. must be; ought to; should). The above two modality types are explained in detail here because they are the typical linguistic tools for the current analysis.

An important point to be noticed here is that modality may be a little different in spoken Chinese and English. However, the modal sense which I am translating here is quite similar to English. It has been widely acknowledged in previous studies that Chinese modality is characterized by the semantic properties set forth by Lyons (1977:452), especially the idea of “the speaker’s opinion or attitude” (Hsieh, 2005). For instance, Tsee (1985: 85) characterized Chinese modality as “a form of meaning which expresses the possibility and necessity of relation between the subject or speaker’s judgment and its action”. Thus, many linguists working on Chinese modality develop their theories from the English modal frame (e.g., Chao, 1968; Tsao, 1990; Liu et al., 1996). However, different situations in the Chinese modal system should be taken into consideration. For example, Chinese modal expressions include verbs with dynamic meaning, such as 希望“hope” and 坚持“insist”, which fits well into the modal category of 想 “would like” and 要“want” (Tang and Tang 1997: 177, 193; cited by Hsieh, 2005). Therefore, the analysis of modality here is based on ideas of the English modal system.

### Sample article 1:

希望广大华人一如既往地支持奥华队，也希望全体奥华将士明确目标，团结一致，提高自身素质，在打球的同时赢得全体华人的真心拥戴。促进华人之间与华人体质的和谐发展和提高，让我们共同展现华人正面而积极向上的形象，竭尽全力为华人在海外地位的提高尽显出自己的力量。

On one hand, we hope Huaren to support “Auhua Team” as usual, and on the other hand, “Auhua Team” *will* do everything to improve its own quality in order to win all Huarens’ supports. We *will* also try our best to accelerate the harmonious development between Huaren and their body-building, to demonstrate the positive and highly motivated images of Huaren, and to enhance the social status of all overseas Huaren.

The modal word “will” belongs to truth modality, indicating the sense of determination and confidence to fulfill the following actions. It also shows that the author had positive attitudes and evaluations of the activities so that he believed this truth with certainty. Why is the author so determined to do such activities? What kind of situation would push him to act that way? First, it has something to do with Chinese culture that Chinese people believe “once you work hard, you will achieve the goals you are dedicated to”. That is why the author had such certainty about the truth. Second, it has something to do with the current context in New Zealand that Huaren used to have a bad image, and the author thinks rugby team members have responsibilities to change situations. For Pakeha New Zealanders, it might not be acceptable to state what other people in the group will do, unless the person speaking is in the position of coach. And even then the power to speak on behalf of all is a limited one. So this signals something distinctive and powerful in Skykiwi discourse.

### Sample article 2:

这一兴趣对于一般华人来说，*也许*有点匪夷所思。但林爽深信以中华文化精神融入异国主流社会的风土人情所写成的作品，不但比追寻乡愁或风花雪月更有意义，也将是消除种族隔阂、摒除民族之间误解的良方妙药。

It *may* be hard for Huaren generally to understand this interest in Maori people. However, Lin Shuang believes that the literature with Chinese culture integrated into New Zealand mainstream culture is more meaningful than the nostalgic topic, which is also like the recipe to prevent the racial misunderstanding and eliminate racial barriers.

The modal word “may” has less certainty than “will”. The word presented an

allegedly common situation that the majority of Huaren don't understand the interest in Maori people. However, the word also highlighted the one exception to such common circumstance - the social actor Lin Shuang who is an outstanding Huaren in New Zealand in respect to his interest in Maori people. The way of writing indicated the author's great praise and high evaluation of this social actor's achievements.

Sample article 3:

- Now, Beijing or Christchurch...
- It is a question...
- Probably going to be the hardest I've ever encountered..
- One day I *must* go back
- I **MUST**
- Back to Mum and Dad
- Back to where I was from...

The modal word “must” has a strong sense of “obligation” or “duty”. Moreover, the repeated word, in capital letters, of “MUST” has enforced this sense of obligation and duty. Why “must” the author go back? It is seen from the following texts that the home country is still in the most important position and the author believed that the action of returning to China should be taken in the future. The analysis on modal words tends to indicate a new Discourse model:

**6.Chinese diaspora still have strong ties of duty to China and the Chinese community and thereby responsibilities for being Chinese.**

### 5.5 Rhetorical strategies

Rhetorical strategies are often taken by journalists when they are unable to provide reports of events that are entirely true and objective. So it is argued by Thomson that journalists employ rhetorical strategies aimed at “persuading others to adopt same point of view” (1996: 6). There are almost hundreds of rhetorical tropes recognized by rhetorical theory (e.g. Corbett & Connors, 1999; Jasinski, 2001), such as metaphor,

hyperbole, neologism, parallelism and so forth. I mainly discuss two categories that I find very useful for identity analysis.

### 5.5.1 Metaphor/simile

Metaphor is a common rhetorical strategy that involves understanding one thing in terms of another. Using metaphor can make things easier to understand. Usually the author will use metaphor to understand certain discourse that may be difficult or abstract to perceive, in terms of another understandable or familiar thing.

#### Sample article 2

这一兴趣对于一般华人来说，也许有点匪夷所思。但林爽深信以中华文化精神融入异国主流社会的风土人情所写成的作品，不但比追寻乡愁或风花雪月更有意义，也将是 *消除种族隔阂、槟除民族之间误解的良方妙药*。

It may be hard for Huaren generally to understand this interest in Maori people. However, Lin Shuang believes that the literature with Chinese culture integrated into New Zealand mainstream culture is more meaningful than the nostalgic topic, which is also *like the recipe to prevent the racial misunderstanding and eliminate racial barriers*.

Seen from the text, Lin Shuang's interest in Maori people seemed hard for Huaren to understand, so the author used a simile to help make the actions more understandable. Technically, "like" means a simile rather than metaphor, but it is part of the same wider category of one thing symbolizing another with which it is connected by a shared characteristic. And it's this shared thing that makes the idea easier to understand. The "recipe" is a more common and familiar thing for Chinese people that we often use in our daily lives - skill in cooking delicious food is a key factor. With the analogy of recipe, the author indicated that Lin Shuang's contribution may have extraordinary effects on preventing racial misunderstanding and curing racial barriers. Obviously, the author is using a Chinese way of thinking to make sense of Lin Shuang's behaviors and intends to share this sense-making within community.

### 5.5.2 Parallelism

Parallelism, in both western and Chinese languages, “is often used to express the intensity of emotion and generates rhetorically and emotionally powerful language” (Roeh and Nir, 1990: 226). The rhetorical strategy of parallelism is even more popular in Chinese written texts. In the beginning of the first sample article, a group of four paralleled sentences have formed strong emotions about rugby:

#### Sample article 1

我们-热爱生命;  
我们-热爱橄榄球;  
我们-旅居新西兰多年;  
我们-都是奥克兰华人橄榄球队的一员。

We—love lives

We—Love Rugby

We—have resided in New Zealand for many years

We—are members of Auckland Huaren Rugby Team

The four sentences here express Huarens’ great passion for rugby i.e that they love rugby just as they love their lives. Rugby is the symbol of New Zealand culture and Chinese people don’t play rugby in China. As Auckland Huaren, Chinese diaspora seem to integrate into New Zealand culture harmoniously. But the third sentence made clear claim immediately about their Chinese identities. And the last sentence ended with a hybrid pattern of identity claim - Auckland Huaren. The rhetorical strategies suggest that there isn’t an easy and widely available way of expressing a shared understanding here for Chinese moving across two cultural boundaries, and so there needs to be rhetorical effort put into making those links. Moreover, these rhetorical figures in Skykiwi discourse reinforce Discourse models No. 2 and 4.

### 5.6 Intertextuality

In the following part, I will address on an important analytical perspective within



discourse analysis - intertextuality, particularly as it is proposed by Fairclough (2003) within paradigm of “critical discourse analysis” (CDA). This is not to say that the current study will follow a CDA approach, but rather will draw on a certain perspective from CDA that is useful for this analysis. As I discussed in the methodology chapter, the central idea of Fairclough’s characterization of intertextuality is all texts cannot be understood in isolation since texts may have relation to other texts, discourses, or social contexts. For Fairclough, intertextuality contains broad perspectives and features that may help identify the specific social discursive practices and demonstrate the dynamic processes of the various discourses. The three analytical perspectives Fairclough (2003) raised in his approach to intertextuality, namely, “genres”, “discourses” and “styles”, provide a way to explore the multi-dimensional feature of texts which is constituted by a variety of intertextual resources as well as various social relationships. Focusing on one perspective of Fairclough’s framework - “discourses as ways of representing”, I attempt to uncover the intertextual resources of two selected articles, hoping to explore the identity representation of both authors and social actors in the texts. The reason for emphasizing just one perspective is that the explicit nature of the intertextual reference is something I want to draw attention to as a significant aspect here. Hence, specifically by analyzing intertextual features of quotation patterns, the following section focuses on the way social actors are referred to in texts.

### 5.6.1 Quotation

A news report may contain a quote from a source either involved in the reported action/event (information) or commenting on it (evaluation), or background information taken from the paper’s cuttings archive, or all three of these text forms (Fairclough, 2003). Fairclough also identifies a set of types of quotation involved in the news report, for instance, direct quotation, strategic quotation, indirect quotation, transformed indirect quotation and so on. I have chosen two of them - direct quotation

and indirect quotation to carry out the analysis. I feel they are most relevant to the current analysis because this chapter is the first attempt at identifying Discourse models and so will focus on the more obvious modes of quotation.

### Sample article 1

每位球员在恪尽职守，兢兢业业地完成工作学习的各方面任务外，全身心地投入到了球队训练与比赛中。在此期间，他们都秉承着不抛弃，不放弃的响亮口号；发扬着中华民族团结奋进，积极向上的传统美德。Except for finishing personal studies and works, each member has devoted entirely into training and contests. During this period, with slogan shouting of “don’t abandon it, don’t give it up”, they have been inspired by Chinese traditional virtues - united, endeavoring, positive and highly-motivated spirits.

This is a direct quotation from an actor’s line in the most popular TV drama in 2009 in China which represented the positive spirit of Chinese soldier “Xu Sanduo” (TV drama’s name: Soldiers’ Sortie 士兵突击). The quotation is straightforward since the slogan was actually said in the drama. This example reveals that local Huaren are also influenced by popular culture in China and have close ties with China even though now overseas. Moreover, the quote is certainly a significant influence for Chinese diaspora in New Zealand, as the writer doesn’t have to explain it to readers and describes it as common knowledge. It leads to another discourse model:

**7. Chinese diaspora appear to have been influenced by culture in China and also attempt to promote such culture on Skykiwi.**

### Sample article 2

- a. 在林爽送给朋友的自制书签上，她**明言笔耕是她的业余爱好，环保是她关心的课题**。2002年4月，林爽与一群志同道合的朋友组成了“华人环保教育信托基金”。

On the bookmarks given to her friends, Lin Shuang *said that writing is her sideline while environmental is what she really cares*. Lin Shuang and some friends with the same wish established “Huaren environmental protection and education trust fund” in April of 2002.

- b. 在入学面试时，一位毛利人主考官问她：“**你对《怀唐依条约》有何看法？**”，《怀唐依条约》是1840年英国派驻新西兰总督与毛利人首领签订的条约。作为新移民，林爽无法回答考官这个问题，她只好向考官**许诺，如果被录取一定会认真学习当地历史文化**。

In the enrolment interview, a Maori examiner asked her, “*What do you think about*

*‘Treaty of Waitangi’?*”“Treaty of Waitangi” was signed by British governor in New Zealand and the head of Maori people in 1840. As a new immigrant, Lin Shuang was not able to answer this question. But *she promised that she would learn the local history and culture with hardworking if she could be accepted.*

Though the first paragraph is an indirect quotation, the author used the word “said” to portray a faithful record of what was said exactly by the social actor in the past. It tends to reveal a truth that the social actor did care about environmental matters most and, rather than being the reporter’s ideas and assumptions, she said such words herself. This indirect quotation reflects the reporter’s certainty and faithful evaluation of the social actor’s behavior in reality. This kind of text is also a distancing move - objectivity, which is what English-language reporters would use to claim only that this is what was said, not that the statement is in fact the case. It is the same in Chinese.

The second paragraph has both direct and indirect quotation. The first direct quotation provided the background information about the report. It explained the main reason why the social actor began her interest in studying Maori culture. The second indirect quotation used the word “promise” to underline that the social actor has finally fulfilled her promises. It also signaled the author’s evaluation that the social actor is a person who could keep promises. Therefore, for indirect quotation, different choices of words, such as “said, claimed, admitted” and so forth, reflect different degrees of the reporter’s evaluation. The quotations used in this article again constructed a different image for Chinese in New Zealand society, in contrast with those “negative problem-oriented representations” of diaspora in the host society. In this regard, it is associated with Discourse model 5 in that the portrayal of positive images for Chinese diaspora in New Zealand society is another significant feature of Skykiwi discourse. However, the positive expression of being Chinese in New Zealand is found in the next chapter to be more complex and less stable.

## 5.7 Chapter summary and conclusion

From the above analysis, we can see the issue of identity is managed in various ways on Skykiwi and thus seven discourse models are built through three sample articles:

1. Chinese diaspora appear to identify themselves as different from New Zealanders and emphasize their Chinese origins in identity claims.
2. There is a performance of hybrid cultural identity among Chinese diaspora in Skykiwi online discourse where Chinese diaspora also regard themselves as members of the host country.
3. Chinese diaspora seem to present a positive attitude towards their host country, without exclusiveness or simple rejection.
4. Chinese diaspora still maintain their Chinese cultural meaning system to make sense of lives in New Zealand.
5. Chinese diaspora used to have a bad image or lower social status in certain ways in the host country, but they appear to make efforts to change such situations.
6. Chinese diaspora still have strong ties to China and the Chinese community and thereby responsibilities for being Chinese.
7. Chinese diaspora appear to have been influenced by culture in China and also attempt to promote such culture on Skykiwi.

Each analytical category in this chapter leads to a Discourse model and some lead to the same Discourse model. It can also be noticed that some discourse models are related or associated with others, for instance No. 1, 4, 6 & 7 are interrelated; while some discourse models are to an extent in tension with each other, such as No. 1 & 2 or 3.

According to Gee's (2005: 84-85) approach: "Discourse models are shared across a great many different discourses, while others might be restricted to just one or a few discourse... Their partiality and inconsistency is sometimes the result of the fact that one Discourse model can incorporate different and conflicting social and Discourse values,... Ultimately, the partiality and

inconsistency of Discourse models reflects the fact that we have all had a great many diverse and conflicting experiences; we all belong to different, sometimes conflicting groups; and we are all influenced by a wide array of groups, texts, institutions, and media..." Thus, for Discourse models 1, 4, 6 & 7, they all share the sense of maintaining Chinese culture and values, so that they are associated with each other. The conflict between Discourse model 1 & 2 or 3 reflects the complexity and fluidity of identity construction within Chinese diaspora that means sometimes they are wavering between two cultural systems. However, no matter how Discourse models are complex or flexible, they are organized, as also suggested by Gee (2005). There are smaller Discourse models which might be inside bigger ones; each smaller model triggers or is associated with others in different situations for specific groups of people or social context. We may call the bigger ones "master models" that is "sets of associated discourse models, or single models, which help shape and organize large and important aspects of experience for particular groups of people" (Gee, 2005: 83). For these seven discourse models, the first one seems more like a "master model" that demonstrates Chinese diaspora explicitly performing a Chinese cultural identity on Skykiwi and it is a widely available way of expressing such shared understanding on site. Discourse models of No. 4, 6 and 7 are smaller ones working inside the master model of identity and these three are associated with each other in a way that they present various ways of performing Chinese cultural identity. Furthermore, the Discourse models built so far also allow us to see the discursive process of identity construction on Skykiwi. As I said previously, Discourse models No. 1, 4, 6 and 7 demonstrate strong propositions of being Chinese in New Zealand. However, Discourse models of 2, 3 & 5 seem to be contradictory to some extent in containing the perspectives of adopting host culture and engaging in host social lives. They imply the possibility of further negotiated and hybrid identity formation in certain ways on Skykiwi. The second Discourse model of a hybrid identity formation is thus also a master model that allows people on Skykiwi to achieve discursively.

The sort of Discourse models and finding of master models is also related to some

theoretical approaches that I discussed previously. Firstly, the master model tells us that Chinese diaspora explicitly identify their Chineseness on Skykiwi in a way that recognizes their belonging to China and, maintains the Chinese way of sense-making; thereby keeping Chinese cultural identity. It is very similar to what Barbara Ward (1965) described as the “ideological model” centered on a pan-Chinese cultural identity and Confucianism. The identity performances on Skykiwi also support the description of a pan-Chinese identity made by He and Guo (2000) and the theory of “cultural China” raised by Tu (1994), as I discussed in chapter 3. More specifically, the identity ideals found on Skykiwi are very close to one form of pan-Chinese identity, that is, Chinese cultural identity centered on Confucianism.

Secondly, Skykiwi contains much identity work and the construction of Chinese diaspora identity is multiple and discursive. So it reinforces Gergen’s (2001) idea which is quoted in chapter 3 that who we are emerges in a contingent, variable and flexible fashion as we talk ourselves into being, and that individuals don’t consult the contents of their own minds and produce anew each time a fresh idiosyncratic description of themselves, but rather, they creatively work with discursive history.

## **Chapter 6. Discourse Analysis of Selected Twenty Articles**

Through the preliminary analysis of three sample articles selected from Skykiwi, certain discourse patterns have been found assuming seven discourse models which lead to particular identity discourses produced online: Chinese diaspora tend to maintain Chineseness and promote a Chinese cultural identity. Meanwhile there is a tendency for a negotiated identity performance based on evidence that Chinese diaspora actively integrate into the host society and culture. As I said previously, Chapter 5 is the first stage in finding out specific discourse patterns on Skykiwi, functioning as a pilot for the following research. Several questions may come to mind, for instance, will analysis of larger numbers of texts lead to different Discourse models or even conflicting ones, compared with the previous findings? Are those specific markers leading to Discourse models only appearing in a few texts, or can they also be found significantly in other articles and different discourse genres? This chapter will try to address these questions through similar discourse analytical categories, but towards a larger amount of materials - 20 selected articles from the Skykiwi website. This is followed by forum analysis in the next chapter to explore a different discourse genre of presenting identity on Skykiwi.

### **6.1 Key words of identity claims**

Similarly with Chapter 5, this chapter starts with discourse analysis from lexical level of the text materials. Key words of explicit as well as implicit claims for social actors' identities have been identified through the previous analysis. Now I will concentrate on the rest of the Skykiwi sample articles; trying to examine if implicit and explicit identity claims are also shared features in the other texts.

### 6.1.1 Explicit identity descriptions in the headlines, first paragraph and other parts

The following three charts are examples of explicit identity descriptions in different parts of the articles.

a. Explicit identity descriptions in the headlines
<p>Sample No.5: <i>中国留学生</i>在新西兰用感冒药做原料提炼制造毒品被遣返  <b>Chinese student</b> was repatriated because of using coldrex to produce drug in New Zealand</p>
<p>Sample No. 6: 透视<i>新西兰华人</i>婚姻现状  Perspectives on the marriage of <b>New Zealand Huaren</b></p>
<p>Sample No.7: <i>留学生</i>感悟: 来新第一课让我感受到新西兰特殊的人性化关怀  <b>Overseas student's</b> sense of the first class in New Zealand - full of special human care</p>
<p>Sample No.9: ANZ 全情赞助<i>华社服</i> 2010 庆中秋亚洲美食文化节  ANZ whole-hearted sponsorship - 2010 <b>Chinese community Services Center</b> celebrating Mid-Autumn Asian Cuisine Festival</p>
<p>Sample No.10: 《我的 Kiwi 生活》征文大赛一等奖得主: <i>留学生才女来自深圳</i>  “My Kiwi Life” Essay contest prize winner: <b>talented student from Shenzhen</b></p>
<p>Sample No.11: 冰冷尖刀抵喉咙<i>新西兰华人</i>遭劫  Cold sharp knife against the throat - <b>New Zealand Huaren</b> encountering robbery</p>
<p>Sample No. 12: 聚焦<i>新西兰华人</i>绑架案: 宽容却不宽恕  Focusing on the <b>New Zealand Huaren</b> kidnapping crimes: tolerance but not forgiveness</p>
<p>Sample No.13: 探讨<i>海外华人</i>的生活经历<i>新西兰华人</i>论坛将举行  Discussing life experiences of <b>overseas Huaren - New Zealand Huaren</b> Forum will be held</p>
<p>Sample No.17: 盼爱情天长地久避开不吉利的“寡妇年”<i>新西兰华人</i>忙结婚  Hope to avoid the unlucky “Widow Year” and wish love lasting long - <b>New ZealandHuaren</b> busy for wedding</p>



Sample No. 20: 我觉得在**新西兰的华人**生活是丰富多彩的

I think the life of **Huaren in New Zealand** is varied and colorful

## b. Explicit identity descriptions in the first paragraph

### Sample No. 5

前天，北京边检总站遣返所接到被新西兰警方遣返回国的**中国留学生夏某**。夏某由于在留学期间伙同他人制造毒品在国外获刑 5 年，服刑达到规定期限后被遣返回国。

The day before yesterday, the Beijing border control office accepted the **Chinese student Xia xx** who was repatriated by New Zealand police. Xia xx was serving a sentence of five years in New Zealand due to producing drugs during his study abroad and was repatriated after he finished the prison term.

### Sample No.6

一代文化名士钱钟书先生曾经把婚姻比作“围城”：城里面的人想逃出来；城外面的人想冲进去。也许这就是现实生活给人们所予的尴尬矛盾吧。那么，**海外华人**的婚姻又是怎样的酸甜苦辣呢？

A famous Chinese writer Mr. Zhongshu Qian used to describe marriage as ‘fortress besieged’ (“Fortress Besieged” is a book written by Mr. Zhongshu Qian who said that marriage is like besieging a fortress that the people inside wish to go out, while those outside wish to get in). Maybe it is the real life which leaves people in such dilemma. Then, what is the happiness and sadness of marriage for **overseas Huaren**?

### Sample No. 7

2004 年 7 月，我**离开西安**，进入**新西兰**奥克兰理工大学学习，感受最深的是该校对学生自我保护意识的重视。

In July, 2004, I **left Xi'an** and entered Auckland University of Technology in **New Zealand** for study. One of the deepest feelings for me is the University's emphasis on students' self-protection awareness.

### Sample No. 9

一年一度的中秋节即将到来。为了庆祝这个中国文化传统的节日，**新西兰华人社区服务中心**将于 2010 年 9 月 19 日周日，在中区 Panmure ( 15-19 Clifton Court) 举行盛大的“庆中秋亚洲美食文化节”。

The annual Mid-Autumn Festival is coming. To celebrate this traditional festival of Chinese culture, **New Zealand Huaren community Services Center** will hold a large “Mid-Autumn Asian cuisine Festival” in Central Panmure on Sunday, September 19th.

### Sample No. 11

上周六傍晚，新西兰基督城共有两家便利店遭劫，其中一家是刚刚接手才一个月的**华人店主彭先生**。

Last Saturday evening, two dairy shops in Christchurch, New Zealand, were robbed. One of them belonged to a **Huaren called Mr. Peng** who took over the shop just a month ago.

#### Sample No.12

近来频频见诸华文和英文媒体的**华裔**绑架事件，不知道牵动了多少人的心。又一次，刚显得平静的奥克兰波澜又起。前几年我还未来的时候，奥克兰留学生的诸多骇人听闻的暴力流血事件，至今仍让我对这里心有余悸。

The recent reports on **Huayi** kidnapping crimes from Chinese and English media touched many people's hearts. Once again, the peace of Auckland was broken. When I was about to come a few years ago, I heard of many Auckland Chinese students' violent and bloody cases which still haunt me today.

#### Sample No.13

据新西兰《乡音报》报道，连续两次大获成功的“Going Bananas **新西兰华人论坛**”将于8月18日和19日两天在奥克兰商学院再次举行。

According to New Zealand “Xiangyin Newspaper” report, the two previous successful “Going Bananas **New Zealand Huaren** Forum” will be held again on 18-19th August in Auckland Business College.

#### Sample No. 17

近日，由于担心明年“不吉利”，许多打算结婚的**华人青年男女**都着急赶在农历虎年到来之前结婚。

Recently, many **Huaren young men and women** rushed to get married before the lunar New Year of Tiger because they worried about next year's “unluckiness”.

#### Sample No. 18

**华人移民**走到哪都喜欢开餐馆，“民以食为天”到哪都是一样的真理，对**华人**来说更是放之四海而皆准的。这里面的奥妙还在于，开餐馆不但解决了就业问题，还解决了吃饭问题。

**Huaren immigrants** seem to prefer running restaurants while they are overseas. “Food is the first necessity of the people” is the truth everywhere in the world, and especially for **Huaren**, no matter where they are. The secret lies that running a restaurant would not only resolve the problem of employment but also the problem of eating.

#### Sample No. 20

作为七旬的老翁的我，为了家庭团聚，**来纽国居住**已经有两年多了，其间所见所闻和所经阅的事情不少，其中有几件小事，使我记忆犹新，久久不能忘怀。

As the man in his seventies, I **have lived in New Zealand** for more than two years for family reunion. I have seen and heard a lot during this period, including a few little things that I can't forget for a long time.

### c. Explicit identity descriptions in other parts of articles

#### Sample No.10

获得本次征文大赛一等奖的作者是一位**来自深圳的年轻女孩**，她的获奖作品《小草越国记》打动了评委们的心，也让许多华人忆起了自己的经历。这是一篇作者结合自己在新西兰生活中的故事和经历而写成的中篇小说，讲述了一个女孩来到新西兰后，从“娇娇女”蜕变成一个干练“女老板”的故事，读来令人唏嘘又感

动。

The first prize winner is a **young girl from Shenzhen** and her winning work “Little Grass Going Overseas” touched the hearts of the judges, reminding many Chinese people of their own experience being overseas as well. This work is a short novel written on the author’s experience in New Zealand, telling a story how she became a skilled entrepreneur from a spoiled girl after moving to New Zealand.

#### Sample No. 15

一路坐在司机边上，跟司机聊天的老太太转过脸来，笑问：「你是日本人吧？」我说：「**我是中国人。**」她说：「哦，很少中国人这样坐巴士旅游的。」我说：「是吗？学生都喜欢这样。」

The old lady who chatted with the driver on the way turned around and asked me smilingly, “You are Japanese, right?” I said, “**I am Chinese**”. She said, “Oh, there are not many Chinese travel by bus like you”. I said, “Really? But students all like it”.

#### Sample No. 18

曾经是**驻新西兰的中国大使陈文照**回忆说，1976 年他第一次到访新西兰时，在首都惠灵顿住了 3 个星期。Chen Wenzhao, the former **ambassador of China in New Zealand**, recalled that he stayed in Wellington for three weeks when he first visited New Zealand in 1976.

#### Sample No. 19

在新西兰皇家地质与核科学研究所工作的**华人**地震专家、高级研究员余嘉顺说，新西兰建筑法一个最重要的原则是，强震发生时，有关设计和建设必须能保证建筑物不倒塌。

Yu Jiashun, **Huaren** earthquake expert and senior researcher worked in Royal New Zealand Institute of Geological and Nuclear Science, said that the most important principle of New Zealand building Act is that the relevant design and construction must ensure not to collapse when the earthquake occurs.

记者在采访中了解到，居住在克赖斯特彻奇的**华人华侨和留学生**均安好，但有不同程度的财产损失。

The reporter learned from the interview that **Huaren, Huaqiao and Chinese international students** living in Christchurch were all right, only with different degrees of property damages.

**华商胡安琪**在市中心哥伦布大街的一家百货店屋顶受损严重，里面的家具、商品被砸坏，7 日保险公司工作人员对损失进行了评估。因为之前她购买了重大财产险，保险公司会赔付大部分损失。但另一位**华商**则因为没有购买保险，只好自己为遭毁坏的商品买单，承担 10 多万新元的损失。

**Huayi Chinese businesswoman Hu Anqi** whose store roof was heavily damaged in Colombo Street, city center, with furniture and goods smashed inside. The insurance company staff assessed the damage on 7th. Since she bought major property insurance, the company would pay the most part of loss. But for another **Chinese businessman** who didn’t buy any insurance, he had to pay for the destroyed products, taking the loss of more than 10 million dollars.

胡女士在**新西兰生活工作多年**，她深有感触地对记者说，自己以前对新西兰一些部门办事程序烦琐非常不满，但此次地震改变了她的看法：“正是因为包括建筑商在内的每个人平时都严格照章办事，才可能有今天的零死亡奇迹。”

Ms Wu **lived and worked in New Zealand** for many years and she told the reporter that she used to be very unsatisfied at cumbersome procedures of some departments in New

Zealand. But through this earthquake she changed her mind, “it is just because everyone including construction businessmen that were all strictly accordance to the rules that the zero-death miracle happened today”.

华人徐叶明在 1976 年唐山大地震发生时正住在北京一幢楼房里。他 7 日接受记者采访时说：“这次地震一发生，我就觉得震级不小...”

**Huaren Xu Yeming** lived in a building of Beijing when Tangshan earthquake happened in 1976. He said in the interview on 7th, “When the earthquake occurred in Christchurch, I could feel it is not a small one...”

Sample article No. 20

当班机安全降落在奥克兰机场的时候，这时**身处异国境地**的我，见到纽国蓝天白云的美丽风光，心情万分兴奋。

When the flight arrived safely in Auckland Airport, as a **foreigner**, I was very excited to see the beautiful scenery of blue sky and white clouds in New Zealand.

但举目相望，好像全是**洋人**面孔。因我不懂英文，使我有嘴不能说。

But when I looked around, I saw all **foreigners'** faces. I didn't speak English, so I couldn't say anything with my mouth.

It is a significant finding that explicit identity claims appear in the titles of most sample articles. This way of representing social actors seems to be a remarkable feature in the Skykiwi articles. The explicit claims of Chinese origin are also in the similar discourse pattern that I discussed in the last chapter - “host country + origin+ social actors” pattern. Headlines are supposed to be the compressed or concentrated expressions of the article. The frequent appearance of such explicit identity claims indicate that Chinese national identity and Chinese diasporic identity tend to overlap in certain ways. By examining naming choice and description, we could assume that Chinese national identity is a very important component of diasporic Chinese identity. However, on the other hand, such a way of naming or description of social actors can be seen as what Fowler called “overlexicalisation” - when something is problematic, it needs to be constantly written on to discursively contain it; or:

the existence of an excess of quasi-synonymous terms for entities and ideas that are a particular preoccupation or problem in the culture's discourse.

(Fowler, 1991: 85)

Thus, overlexicalisation of Chinese diasporic naming patterns in Skykiwi discourse may, on the contrary, signal that the issue of Chinese diasporic identity is surrounded by too much talk which might be due to some problematic element or even crisis in that identity. The issue of diasporic identity has always been seen as problematic, such as the problems of “not knowing where one belongs”, “identity dilemmas”, “struggles for identification and membership”, and so forth (Wodak & Krzyzanowski, 2008). Chinese diaspora in New Zealand may also face such problems in identity construction, which is the reason why topics on diasporic identity issue are frequently foregrounded in these ways in the Skykiwi website.

Even if explicit identity claims are not in the headlines of all articles, some descriptions of social actors’ identities appear in prominent positions, for instance; first paragraph of the article. For those articles that have already had explicit identity claims in their headlines, the repeated and completed discourse patterns of social actors’ identities will also be mentioned again in the first paragraph. Seen from the second chart, for articles No. 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 17 and 20, repeated and more detailed descriptions about explicit identity are made in the first paragraphs again. Of course an important reason that the detailed descriptions about social actors’ identities appear in the first paragraph is because of the genre of news, that is, where, who and what are required elements in news discourse. However, the basic elements of news genre don’t explain all of the circumstances. What I believed significant in Skykiwi discourse is the way who and where are represented in doing special work. I will come back to discuss this issue shortly after the following examples of explicit identity description appearing in other parts of the articles.

After listing all my examples of explicit descriptions of Chinese diasporic identities on the Skykiwi website, two points need to be addressed here. First, in addition to the idea that Chinese origin constitutes a crucial part of Chinese diasporic identities description, the overlexicalization of such identity claims in Skykiwi also implies the problem of

this issue. Second, although the general news genre is involved in the “who” and “where” elements, the different way that the Chinese diaspora are represented in Skykiwi is worthy of attention. I believe that the analysis of such discourse could enable me to capture the discursive construction of Chinese diasporic identities. For example, instead of “overseas Chinese” or “Chinese diaspora”, the key word “Huaren” seems to be used most frequently in Skykiwi to represent general Chinese diaspora. As discussed in Chapter 2, Huaren and Huaqiao are still the popular terms in mainland China referring to overseas Chinese, despite the criticism that both terms place China (Hua) as the core (Yang, 2005). The preference of China-centered identity claims inevitably generates a sense of Chinese nationalism. It is similar to what He and Guo (2000) called “pan-Chinese identity” that regards Chinese culture (centered around Confucianism) as the most important criterion, no matter the different ethnicity or political beliefs. Thus, the choice of word “Huaren” seems to reinforce such imaginary China-core ideology, as it is of course originally produced elsewhere.

However, there is an example with a slightly different description of the social actor’s identity in article No. 5, compared with previous discourse patterns. The “host country + origin+ social actor’s name” pattern I concluded in the last chapter was the most common in sample articles. But the social actor in Sample No. 5 was described as *Chinese student Xia* ××. Maybe it is due to the protection of his privacy that the student’s name is not fully represented. What the difference here is that the special mark of “××” substituted the first name of this “repatriated Chinese student”, instead of any respect titles (such as Mr. or any other social titles) before his surname. Compared with descriptions of “Ms Wu lived and worked in New Zealand...” in sample 19 and “Huaren called Mr. Peng” in sample 11, we can see a subtle difference in the author’s attitude towards the social actor in sample 5. Though all three examples may have privacy issues in reporting social actors, it is because *Xia* ×× is a bad example of a Chinese international student that his full name was mentioned only by a certain mark. Similarly, in article No. 19, one social actor bought property insurance so as to avoiding

losses in the earthquake while another social actor didn't. For the one who bought insurance, the author described her as "Huayi Chinese businesswoman Hu Anqi" in complete discourse pattern with full name, indicating she was doing the right thing, or maybe she is "one of us". However, another man who didn't buy the insurance and had to pay for the damaged property was described less-respectably as "another Chinese businessman". It indicated the author's personal opinion that buying insurance is the right thing to do for local Chinese businessmen and could protect their losses in natural disasters. From the above two examples, we could assume that the author conveys a "naming Discourse model", which is similar to the "ideological square" that Richardson (2007) discussed<sup>16</sup>:

**8. Positive and good examples of Chinese diaspora, or "ones like us", are described with full names or respectable expressions, while for bad ones, or "others", there is no need to mention full names or show such respect.**

Finally, it is very interesting that the author in sample 20 called himself "foreigner" and then called local people "foreigners". No matter whom the word "foreigner" refers to, the point here is that the author and local people may both see each other as foreigners. The explicit identity descriptions indicated the author's strong sense of boundary-making with local people. It is in line with the previous Discourse model that Chinese diaspora appear to identify them as different from New Zealanders.

The above materials show that explicit identity claims are the distinctive discourses in Skykiwi, marking a difference to local people and strengthening Chinese origins. Hence, evidence in more text materials reinforces the first Discourse model built in the last chapter. However, a critical point should be made to the new Discourse model 8 built in this section, as in itself it's not addressing my research question. The point is

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<sup>16</sup> Ideological square is a concept developed by Teun van Dijk who argued the prejudicial discourse will be characterized by a positive characterization of the self/the in-group or us and a simultaneous negative characterization of the other/out-group or them (Richardson, 2007: 239).

maybe there is a strong moral overtone to the way “we” are talked about in the texts.

### 6.1.2 Implicit identity claims of authors as well as social actors

Next I will look at the implicit identity claims in these articles.

#### Sample article No. 4

中国有句俗话：“鞋合不合适，只有脚知道。”~~到了~~新西兰才发现，鞋合不合适，医生更清楚。

There is an old saying in China that “shoes comfortable or not, only your feet know”. When *come* to New Zealand, it is found that “shoes comfortable or not, doctors know better”.

This article is about certain knowledge of the “shoe culture” in New Zealand. From the very beginning of the text, it is obvious the author claims knowledge about Chinese “shoe culture” and in the following sentence also claims knowledge of New Zealand “shoe culture”. It seems that the author is familiar with or could understand New Zealand “shoe culture” very well despite of his/her previous knowledge of Chinese “shoe culture”; or rather the author seems to use his/her knowledge of Chinese culture to understand New Zealand culture. We could assume that the article is displaying the author’s negotiation of two cultural systems thereby implicitly presenting a negotiated identity. This example fits into Discourse model 4 - “Chinese diaspora still maintain their Chinese cultural meaning system to make sense of lives in New Zealand”. However, it is significant that the way the author negotiates identity is through claiming greater knowledge of Chinese culture because he/her places Chinese culture in the first position. The way of discourse positions the author as an example who could use the Chinese way of thinking to understand New Zealand situations. So we may assume a subsidiary Discourse model to the master model 2 that is a widely available way of expressing a negotiated cultural identity by claiming greater knowledge of Chinese culture to understand local culture on Skykiwi.

In addition, it should be noticed that this article was originally from a local Chinese



newspaper (*Haixiadushi Newspaper*) and the Skykiwi website reposted the article. Its reposting here signifies how the knowledge is circulated and how certain identities are negotiated within this discursive space. This is evidence that the identity constituted with a Chinese way of thinking as well as New Zealand culture is implicitly produced in the Skykiwi website.

#### Sample article No. 6

一代文化名士钱钟书先生曾经把婚姻比作“围城”：城里面的人想逃出来；城外面的人想冲进去。也许这就是现实生活给人们所置予的尴尬矛盾吧。那么，海外华人的婚姻又是怎样的酸甜苦辣呢？

**A famous Chinese writer** Mr. Zhongshu Qian used to describe marriage as “fortress besieged” (‘Fortress Besieged’ is a book written by Mr. Zhongshu Qian who said that marriage is like besieging a fortress that the people inside wish to go out, while those outside wish to get in). Maybe it is the real life which leaves people in such dilemma. Then, what is the happiness and sadness of marriage for overseas Chinese?

前日，一位好友给笔者致电问候，交谈中她感慨自己的生意伙伴突然诀别新西兰，返回中国。一时间生意只能由自己打点，搞得心力交瘁。…笔者听后足足愣了半晌。~~不是~~*不是因为自己思想陈旧腐化*，只是霎时觉得这“围城”好似菜市场一般，出入得也太随意了。

A few days ago, a friend called me, telling that her business partner made a sudden decision to leave New Zealand forever and come back China. So the friend had to take over the business on her own and she was almost exhausted because of it. It is much unexpected for me to hear the news since my friend’s partner just got married with a local Huayi three months ago... I froze for a while when I heard it. **It is not because of my conservative views on marriage**, but rather I feel this “fortress besieged” (marriage) is like a supermarket that it is so easy for them to go in and out.

Beginning with a famous Chinese saying, the author appeared to claim agreement on marriage attitudes in Chinese culture. Then by telling a story of a friend’s marriage, the author confirmed her belief that “marriage should not be like a supermarket”. Despite also having Chinese culture in mind, the author here tends to hold a different view to the previous author in insisting on the traditional Chinese way of thinking on marriage. By relating the example of an unhappy marriage, the author seems to hold a viewpoint that “we should maintain the Chinese way of thinking on marriage even if we are overseas now”. The reason why the two authors hold different views on new culture can be explained in literature I discussed. Diaspora tend to have behavioral acculturation while still maintaining their home countries’ values which may include religions, attitudes on sex and marriage, attitude on politics and so forth. This example seems to modify the

earlier Discourse model 2 that: the way Chinese diaspora produce the hybrid/negotiated identity in Skykiwi is by accepting some aspects of culture of New Zealand while still maintain Chinese values in other aspects.

Therefore, it is similar with what Wong argued “more often than not, ethnic identities are situational and contingent. Diasporic Chinese ethnic communities can deploy a range of strategies to manage their identities” (2003: 4). Indeed, it seems that Chinese diaspora have different views and choices when they orient towards lives in New Zealand. Furthermore, it suggests that the Skykiwi website, as an online media and communication stage, is available for displaying more fluid and fragmented identity options for Chinese individuals.

#### Sample No. 8

新西兰的交通是较发达的，但是美中不足的是许多道路的路牌上都标有“NO EXIT”字样。如果展开交通地图看看，你就会发现有很多这样的“盲肠”。NO EXIT，意思是“此路不通”，如果用中国人常用的话来说就是“断头路”，“死胡同”。

New Zealand's transportation systems are highly developed, except that many road signs marked “No Exit”. If you look at the whole traffic map, you will find a lot of such “appendix”. “No Exit” means this road is blocked in the end. If described it in Chinese, it will be “Duan Tou Lu (断头路)” or “dead end”.

有些年轻人会说，纽国家家都有汽车，开车多绕点路无所谓。我说此言差矣！这样说至少缺乏三点常识...

**Many young people** would say every family in New Zealand has cars so it is not much matter that they drive more over the road. I said there are at least three points lack of common sense in this statement.

是的，这就是新西兰的怪现象，接近原位而不同...

Yes, this is the **strange** situation in New Zealand, close to the starting point but not the same.

This article is about negotiating difference. Seen from the texts, the author used a Chinese way of understanding “No Exit” roads and he/she didn't seem to understand the idea in New Zealand's transportation systems. The word “strange” reflected this point clearly, which also indicated the author's identity as a non-New Zealander. Then the phrase “many young people” which presumably refers to young Chinese people in

NZ signals that this discourse is taking place in a Chinese-New Zealand-space as it involves two kinds of relevant identities. The author is using “deictic” words (including words like here, this, it, now...) which need knowledge of the context of talk to understand them. Therefore, the expression “many young people” shows the talk here implicitly positions the speaker’s identity within a particular group that shares this sense of strangeness.

#### Sample No. 12

近来频频见诸华文和英文媒体的华裔绑架事件，不知道牵动了多少人的心。又一次，刚显得平静的奥克兰波澜又起。前几年我还未来的时候，奥克兰留学生的诸多骇人听闻的暴力流血事件，至今仍让我对这里心有余悸。

The recent reports on Huayi kidnapping crimes from Chinese and English media touched many people’s hearts. Once again, the peace of Auckland was broken. When I was about to come a few years ago, I heard of many Auckland Chinese students’ violent and bloody cases which still haunt me today.

绑架案发生后，我在心中默默地祈祷：千万不要又是**我们留学生**阿！...直到今天，当我意外地发现一篇自称是其中一名在逃嫌疑犯在 SKYKIWI 中贴出的事件经过...

After the kidnapping case, I prayed in my heart: don’t be *our international students* again! ...Till today I accidentally found a claim posted in *Skykiwi* from one of the suspects, telling the whole story.

As I discussed previously, the social actor’s identity claims in text 12 were explicit in the form of Huayi. But for the author, implicit identity claims were also made here as he used the phrase “our international students”, which suggested that the author might be or used to be an international student. However, the author here didn’t see the Chinese students who broke the law as “others” since he used the word “our”. It appears to contradict the previous Discourse model that bad examples of Chinese diaspora should be seen as “others”. However, as I said in the last chapter, sometimes Discourse models are to an extent in tension with each other due to the fact that people may have diverse experiences and identities. What is noteworthy here is that the example actually reinforces the Discourse model No.6 in that it is due to the author’s strong ties of duty with the Chinese community that he felt responsible enough to morally support the Chinese students who have a bad image in the host country. In addition, the author’s

tolerance of students' bad behavior and inclusion of them as members of "us" also create a sense of solidarity and unity within community. From this view, the author's implicit claims can also be understood as an effort to eliminate "inner difference within virtual community" (Mitra, 1997a) in order to strengthen the sense of community. I will return to discuss this perspective on community building in the next chapter.

#### Sample No. 15

2004 至 2008 四年，电话在线未曾谋面的朋友，线下或远或近的同行，给我多年的 *留学生活* 带来了非常难得的友谊和体验。

In four years from 2004 to 2008, online friends who I never meet as well as offline counterparts brought very rare friendship and experience to my *overseas life*.

巴士上只有两位乘客。一位 *洋人老太太* 和我。车到海岸终点站，那位 *毛利* 司机提醒说：「到站了，要开回程啦。」...她朝我招招手说：「过来坐吧，聊聊天。」我用并不流畅的英文，跟她聊了起来。老太太很有耐心，特意将语速放慢。

There were only two passengers, a *foreign lady* and me. When the bus arrived in destination, the *Maori* driver reminded, "Here is the terminal and the bus will return."... Then she waved to me, "Come and sit. We could talk". Then I chatted with the old lady though my English was not fluent at that time. The old lady was very patient and she slowed down the speed on purpose.

First, the author claimed an "overseas life", thus she was obviously not a New Zealander. Second, it is interesting here that the author made explicit identity claims of two other social actors, in terms of "foreign lady" and "Maori driver". The writer moves between being overseas and others being foreign in New Zealand in a way that implies she is not a New Zealander. The discourse analysts may call this "liquid modernity" (Bauman, 2000) or "cultural in-betweenness" (Tsolidis and Kostogriz, 2008) which implies the diasporic identification. Diasporic identities are described as hybrid and shifting according to the changing surroundings (Tsolidis and Kostogriz, 2008). However, this "in-betweenness" theory refutes the idea of "culture clash" and "melting-pot" theories, allowing the co-existence and integration of two or more cultural meaning systems. This example suggests a complement to Discourse model 2 that was built in the previous section: Chinese diaspora may construct a hybrid cultural identity that enables them to move between two cultures and to be both Chinese and

New Zealanders.

#### Sample No. 17

Peter Chan 是一名**命理师**, 同时也是 Waitakere 的一名**市议员**, 他表示今年的虎年被认为不吉利是由于立春的前提。

Peter Chan is a *fortuneteller*, and also a Waitakere *City Councillor*. He said the Year of Tiger is believed to be unlucky because the beginning of spring is earlier this year.

奥克兰的**律师**James Ho 和女友 Nancy Wong 就决定提前“喜结连理”, ... 在**银行工作**的 Lily Zhang 和**马来西亚老公** Nicky Lee 也将婚礼提前到了上周

The Auckland *lawyer* James Ho and his girl friend Nancy Wong decided to marry in advance... Lily Zhang who *works in the bank* and her *Malaysia husband* Nicky Lee also put their wedding forward to last week.

In the above descriptions, several social actors shared the same opinion on the Year of the Tiger - in that it was not suitable to get married. It implied that these social actors tend to be influenced by the Chinese lunar calendar that is an important part of Chinese culture. Although these social actors have formal working identities in New Zealand, such as lawyer, bank staff and city councillor, they occupied Chinese cultural identities at the same time. These implicit identity claims led to the same discourse models I discussed in the last chapter - Chinese diaspora tended to have dual cultural identities systems, Chinese and New Zealanders; they also appeared to be influenced by Chinese culture even if they are overseas. However, what is significant here is the way it is talked about in the Skykiwi website - dualness won't be a problem, as there are many Chinese people doing the same thing. Containing two cultural systems is something happening every day. This article is quoted from another source (China-New Zealand-Net) and Skykiwi seems to draw upon the issue that it is normal to be "New Zealand Chinese". Another small point here which takes my attention is the identity expressions of "Auckland lawyer" and "Malaysia husband", which advocates a sense of pan-Chinese cultural identity that indicates people from outside of China can also be embraced or influenced by Chinese traditional culture.

#### Sample No. 20

当班机安全降落在奥克兰机场的时候, 这时**身处异国境地的我**, 见到祖国蓝天白云的美丽风光, 心情万

分兴奋。

When the flight arrived safely in Auckland Airport, as a *foreigner*, I was very excited to see the beautiful scenery of blue sky and white clouds in New Zealand

The author starts his story by explicitly mentioning his foreignness. It is curious that the author states his foreignness identity here. Presumably he then goes on to change his identity marker? Or is this about moving from being fully foreign to a position of knowing more and feeling less simply foreign? After reading the whole article, we can find it is the latter situation. Again, the author tends to set up an example through Skykiwi that there is the possibility to have a colorful life in New Zealand even if one is a complete foreigner who even doesn't speak English.

According to the above analysis of the rest of the articles, explicit and implicit identity claims are still the dominant feature in different discourse genres, not only referring to social actors but also to the authors. It supports the first Discourse model built in the last chapter - Chinese diaspora appear to identify themselves as being different from New Zealanders and place their Chinese origins in a very important position.

## 6.2 Key words with situated meanings

Key words with situated meanings are a significant feature in Skykiwi discourse and most times are used in a way that requires the audience to know. The following examples show that it is due to different social and cultural circumstances between China and New Zealand that Chinese and New Zealanders may have different “explanatory theories” (Gee, 2005) of the same words. It is through the expression of words with situated meanings that social actors identify their Chinese cultural system and distinct way of making sense of an event.

### Sample No. 4

中国有句俗语：“鞋合不合适，只有脚**知道**。”到了新西兰才发现，鞋合不合适，医生更**清楚**。

There is an old saying in China that “shoes comfortable or not, only your feet**know**”.

When come to New Zealand, it is found that “shoes comfortable or not, doctors *know* better”.

The word “know” in the first sentence represents a feeling from peoples’ feet. If the shoes we wear are not comfortable, then our feet will feel it in the first instance. The word “know” in the second sentence has a different meaning in that it represents a professional knowledge. This article is using a parallel construction, and so lets us see that “to know” is a different thing in traditional China and modern New Zealand. Thus the different sense-making about the word “know” - Chinese perspective of a certain kind of feeling about peoples’ feet and local perspective of a professional knowledge about the health of feet - reflects different “explanatory theories” in Chinese and New Zealanders. By using the word “know” with different situated meanings, the author marks the difference between two cultures and constructs an explicit identity claim of Chinese. It fits into the idea of the first “master Discourse model” that Chinese diaspora appear to identify themselves as different from New Zealanders. Furthermore, the author’s positive evaluation of “shoe culture” in New Zealand also strengthens the Discourse model 3 that the Chinese diasporic discourse on Skykiwi combines easily with a positive attitude towards their host country.

#### Sample No. 12

绑架案发生后，我在心中默默地祈祷：千万不要又是我们留学生阿！我不否认这样的想法里面存在着**自私**的因素。但是，这样的想法不也是人之常情么？

After the kidnapping case, I prayed in my heart; don’t be our international students again! I don’t deny that there are *selfish* elements in my mind. But this idea is just natural.

#### Sample No. 15

我不语。因为我说了，你也未必明白。说真的，我有**私心**。为了私心，所以坚持。而这个私心，就是承诺。

I didn’t answer because they may not understand even if I tell the reason. To be honest, I have *selfish* motives. For this selfishness, I insist. And this selfishness is in fact the commitment.

The two texts here work similarly in constructing a situated meaning for selfish - it is not about the personality, but rather the cultural identity. Both texts explain the “selfishness” as related to specific cultural aspects: the selfishness of including all

Chinese as “one of us” that creates a strong sense of belonging to the community, just as what is described in Discourse model 6; and the selfishness in keeping a promise due to the faith in Buddhism which supports the idea of Discourse model 7. Thus, these two pieces of evidence around a word with situated meanings construct the social actors’ identities as Chinese.

#### Sample No. 12

很多人坚强地战胜了自己，同时也有很多在重重重压之下，在善与恶的边缘徘徊了良久以后不幸滑下了罪恶的深渊。这之间的差距，也许只在一念之间。赌场里的**孩子们**，难道他们真的如你们所说的那样十恶不赦吗？红灯区下那一个个**堕落的身影**，难道就不承受着虚浮道义所不能承受之重吗？中国现代的文明，凝聚了多少“海归”们的血汗？

Many international students have overcome difficulties; meanwhile also a lot of them unfortunately slide down the evil abyss after wandering between goodness and badness. The difference is perhaps just in one mind. Are the *children* in casino really as heinous as people say it? Don’t the *fallen angels* in the red-light district bear the burden of rootless morality? How much civilization today is condensed by seat and hardness of “overseas returnees”?

在这个尔虞我诈的社会，而漂流在外的孤寂的**孩子们**，究竟得到多少的关爱呢？盘剥留学生那可怜的打工收入，利用留学生对这个异国的陌生骗取他们的钱财，威逼利诱留学生们走向犯罪的深渊。

In this society of intrigues, how much love do the drifting overseas *children* get? Exploit the little income of the poor students, cheat students for their lack of experience, and threaten or seduce the students to the crime.

The author here used the word “children” to represent international students. Of course international students are not children at all. It reflected the author’s emotion that these students deserved sympathy and that they’re not fully responsible for their behavior (i.e. they’re not “heinous”). They were just far away from home, lonely in the new country and thus it was easier for them to make mistakes. From this perspective, the word “children” here has a situated meaning of “poor/lonely students” who need more care and help. Similarly the phrase “fallen angels” has the situated meaning of Chinese girls who, instead of study, work as prostitutes to make money. The situated meaning of the above words expressed the great emotion and wish from the author that New Zealand Chinese crimes should be tolerated but not forgiven. It is another example of the ideological square that identifies a discourse with positive characterization of “one of



us/in group”, as I discussed in earlier sections.

#### Sample article No.20

接着，她显现出得偿心愿的样子说了一声“Bye-Bye”后，转身向前走去了。当时，我目光凝视着她的背影，深深觉得她的背影**越来越高大**。

Then she revealed like fulfilling her will and said “Bye-bye”. She turned and went back. Watching her back, I felt her back becoming *bigger and bigger*. The western people’s characters of willing to help others is worthy of my study.

一年多来，几乎每天都要风雨不改地推着手推车子往来于我们居住的附近的街区，派送广告，每月的工资收入虽然不高，但能有 20% 所得税交给政府是我高兴的，**我们**生活在纽国没，能为纽国社会尽点力所能及的义务是理所应该的。

During a year time, we almost pushed carts to deliver advertisement everyday around our living hood no matter it rained or not. Though the salary was not much, I was still very happy to give 20% tax to the government. Since *we* live in New Zealand now, it is our responsibility to contribute to the society here.

从以上的故事，使我深深体会到，洋人是友好的，**我们**在同一天空下，应该和睦相处，为把纽国建设得更富饶更美丽而努力。

From the above stories, I feel deep that foreigners are very friendly here. *We* are in the same sky, so we should live harmoniously and make contributions to the prosperity and beauty of New Zealand.

The phrase “bigger and bigger” in the first example doesn’t mean the physical size. Instead, it is a feeling from the author because he thought that the western people’s characteristic of willing to help others is worthy of his study. The situated meaning of “bigger and bigger” expressed a sense of respect and approval of local people, which is another example to support Discourse model 3. Moreover, the expression of “back becoming bigger and bigger” is a common discourse in Chinese literature, reflecting the author still maintains a Chinese cultural meaning system to make sense of lives in New Zealand (as discussed in Discourse model 4).

Looking at the other paragraphs, the first “we” obviously referred to the author and his wife. The second “we” has a broader meaning content in this situation, including Chinese people living in New Zealand and all New Zealanders since “we are in the

same sky”. This is the same Discourse model within the previous chapter - Chinese diaspora tend to belong to two social groups and thereby obtaining two cultural identities. The author here tends to make an effort to bring Chinese and New Zealanders together.

However, does the following analysis and wider reading of the site suggest such expressions happen a lot on the site? If it does, it may imply that there are significant barriers that participants are trying to cross through their talk.

### 6.3 Making sense of New Zealand

I will look at key words which could indicate the Chinese diaspora’s distinct sense-making of New Zealand in this section.

Sample article No. 3

I love the café here...

Located in vintage houses...

Served with *smiles*

Sample No. 15

一路坐在司机边上, 跟司机聊天的老太太转过脸来, 笑问:「你是日本人吧?」我说:「我是中国人。」

The old lady who chatted with the driver on the way turned around and asked me *smilingly*, “You are Japanese, right?” I said, “I am Chinese”.

这时, 司机笑着将我的月票抽了出来, 说:「听她的吧, 她的心意。」

At this time the driver *smiled*, returned my ticket and said, “You’d better listen to her. It is her willingness”.

Sample No. 20

半途上突然见到一位洋人妇女推着一辆带帆布袋的手推车子停在我的面前, 并且笑着对我说了几句英文。当时, 我听不懂她说的事什么, 只好连忙回答: “sorry, I can’t speak English.”她一边友好的笑着, 一边做着要把她的手推车子送给我的手势。

I saw a foreigner woman halfway pushing a cart with a canvas bag. She stopped in front of me and said some words in English with *smile*. I didn’t understand what she was talking about at that time. Then I had to say, “Sorry, I can’t speak English”. She made a gesture of giving me her cart with friendly *smile*.

The word “smile” appeared many times in this article, drawing an image of “smiling

and friendly New Zealanders” to the readers. The pragmatics of the description of smiling is noteworthy. It suggests that actually there’s no assumption that a person would be smiled at, otherwise the smile would be less likely to be worth mentioning. We could assume two possibilities here: Firstly, Chinese people are finding a different smiling culture in New Zealand. Secondly, Chinese people may not expect to be smiled at by New Zealanders. For the first assumption, in Chinese culture smiling is a complex notion as there are different kinds of smiling, and perhaps the vocabulary of Chinese smiling is the most varied in the world. However, scholars in China have argued that the common feature this smiling shares is that it embeds certain purposes, and therefore Chinese smiling is thought to be divorced from true emotions (Yang, 2008). This smiling culture is due to the fact that the living environment of Chinese people has always been complicated during China’s long history<sup>17</sup>. The authors tend to evaluate smiling culture in New Zealand, which reinforces Discourse model 3 by introducing a subsidiary Discourse model: New Zealanders are very friendly with smiles and this smiling culture is the right thing for Chinese to learn from.

For the second assumption, Chinese people may not expect to be smiled at by New Zealanders because they may still consider themselves as the “others” who may not be treated in a New Zealand way. Or, as discussed in literature, it might be also because of the popular conversations about problems of uneasy relationships or even conflict between mainstream society in the host country and diaspora. Therefore, the authors here seem to negotiate two different cultures by sharing their own experiences in the Skykiwi website, therefore reducing certain “culture clashes” or “misunderstandings” in the host society. The way the authors present such negotiated identities is through the approval attitudes towards the local people and an appreciation of host culture. Thus the texts in the Skykiwi website imply an image of an integrated and harmonious life of Chinese diaspora in the host country.

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<sup>17</sup>According to Wang, one of the most advanced achievements of Chinese civilization history is not science, art, but rather tactics. It forces Chinese people to be cautious everywhere while dealing with other people, avoiding getting involved in any political issues. Therefore, an interesting metaphor of Chinese people is they are like chameleons that have to ‘change faces’ frequently due to the changeable human hearts. (Wang, 2010)

The following examples provide further evidence that may prove this point.

#### Sample No. 7

如果意外怀孕或需要咨询，护士们也**很乐意**提供帮助并绝对保密。

Besides, if anyone who need advices on accidental pregnancy, the nurse would be very **happy** to provide help and keep your privacy.

#### Sample No. 9

ANZ **全情**赞助华社服 2010 庆中秋亚洲美食文化节

ANZ **whole-hearted** sponsorship - 2010 Chinese community Services Center celebrating Mid-Autumn Asian cuisine Festival

#### Sample No. 20

从以上的故事，使我深深体会到，洋人是**友好**的，我们在同一天空下，应该和睦相处，为把祖国建设得更富饶更美丽而努力。

From the above stories, I feel deep that foreigners are very **friendly** here. We are in the same sky, so we should live harmoniously and make contributions to the prosperity and beauty of New Zealand.

顿时，我真是被她专程送车子来给我的行为感动了，忙说：“Thank you! Thank you!”接着，她显现出**得偿心愿**的样子说了一声“Bye-Bye”后，转身向前走去了。

Suddenly, I was moved by her behavior of making a special trip to send me the cart, and quickly said, “Thank you! Thank you!” Then she revealed like **fulfilling her will** and said “Bye-bye”.

又有一天，我外出派送广告，半路上遇到骤起的风雨，自己没有带备雨具，只好就近走到一位洋人房子前边的大树下避雨。奈何当时天不作美，雨点越来越大，眼看自己所穿的衣服和车子里的广告纸就要被雨水淋湿了，就在这个急煞人的时刻，就近房子里的洋人拿着雨具，冒着风雨**冲到我**面前，示意叫我拿着他带来的雨具挡雨。当时，我有了他送来给我的雨具，问题很快就解决了。

Another day when I went out sending the ads, it suddenly rained with winds. I had to walk to the tree of the nearest house because I didn't bring any rain gear. The rain was bigger and bigger, and my clothes and ads in the cart almost got wet. At this urgent moment, a local people from the near house **rushed** to me with his rain gear and gave it to me. The problem was resolved with his help.

一年多来，几乎每天都要风雨不改地推着手推车往来于我们居住的附近的街区，派送广告，每月的工资收入虽然不高，但能有 20% 所得税交给政府是我**高兴**的，我们生活在祖国，能为祖国社会**尽点力所能及的义务**是理所应该的。

During a year time, we almost pushed carts to deliver advertisement everyday around our living hood no matter it rained or not. Though the salary was not much, I was still very **happy** to give 20% tax to the government. Since we live in New Zealand now, it is **our responsibility to contribute to** the society here.

接着，她显现出得偿心愿的样子说了一声“Bye-Bye”后，转身向前走去了。当时，我目光凝视着她的背影，深深觉得她的背影越来越高。洋人友善的助人为乐的品格真是**值得我的学习**。

Then she revealed like fulfilling her will and said “Bye-bye”. She turned and went

back. Watching her back, I felt her back becoming bigger and bigger. The western people's characters of willing to help others is *worthy of my study*.

The word "happy" indicated the nurse was always willing to provide help; the word "whole-hearted" meant the ANZ might have tried their best to provide sponsorship to the Chinese community; the phrase "fulfilling her will" also expressed the local woman's willingness to help others; the word "rush" implied that the local man was eager and in a hurry to give instant help to the author. The above key words and phrases provide further evidence to present an image of "smiling, friendly and always ready for help" New Zealanders. In return, Chinese people are presented as "studying the goodness of local people", "considering themselves as New Zealanders" and thus "being happy to contribute to New Zealand society". So there is a lot of discourse describing positive emotional response between Chinese diaspora and New Zealanders in this discursive space. The occurrence of this discourse firstly confirms the previous Discourse model that "the Chinese diasporic discourse on Skykiwi combines easily with a positive attitude towards their host country, without exclusiveness or simple rejection"; and moreover suggesting another subsidiary Discourse model to model 3: The way to achieve the goal of a harmonious life in New Zealand is to understand and appreciate the host country's culture first and thereby actively integrate into host society.

Therefore, the above analysis uncovers that the Skykiwi website works as a space to present options of negotiated identities or different ways of life in New Zealand for Chinese diaspora through circulating certain knowledge and discourse. The two subsidiary Discourse models built in this section strengthen the previous argument in model 3 that "the Chinese diasporic discourse on Skykiwi combines easily with a positive attitude towards their host country, without exclusiveness or simple rejection".

## 6.4 Analyzing other linguistic details of structuring of propositions

By the analysis of structuring of propositions, namely, key words and phrases of identity claims, situated meanings and sense-making of the host country, the previous section concerns the representation of social actors. It especially looks at different ways of life and various attitudes of Chinese diaspora living in New Zealand circulated via the popular online space, [www.skykiwi.com](http://www.skykiwi.com). However, the previous analysis based on micro-textual analysis needs further exploration by other typical textual and intertextual elements at a more general level. In the following section I will look at other linguistic details of sentence analysis - modality and conversion thinking.

### 6.4.1 Sentence construction - Modality

It must be pointed out first that most Chinese characteristics of modal verbs have their corresponding English translations, especially for modal verbs showing a sense of “certainty”, such as “should/shouldn’t, must/mustn’t and have to”. As I said before, modality can present the speaker’s or writer’s attitudes or opinions about the truth expressed by a sentence. Usages of modal verbs showing “certainty” have been found in many sample articles believed to convey the authors’ attitudes about certain issues discussed in the texts. It is more important what these attitudes tell me about diasporic discourse. Hence, the analysis of these modal verbs will reveal the discourses of attitudes, opinions or even beliefs which were strongly claimed by the authors and circulated through the Skykiwi website, presenting different ways of making sense of “diaspora”, “culture” and “identity”. The following section begins with analysis of modal verbs showing “certainty” and data will be presented in both Chinese characters and English versions in the examples.

#### Sample article No.6

当然，纵观海外华人移民，恩爱互助、携手创业的夫妇大有人在。而且在共同的奋斗艰辛中所凝结的夫

妻之情，是刻骨铭心的，也是人生的一种宝贵财富。诚然，失去了感情的婚姻，是枯燥的，甚至是令人窒息的。然而，夫妻双方，遇到困难，~~应该~~相互理解，共同面对。万不可意气用事，草率行事。

Of course there are also many immigrant Chinese couples who are mutually affectionate and work hard together. The love between husband and wife forming through the common hardworking is unforgettable, and it is a valuable asset in their whole life as well. Indeed, loss of feelings of marriage is boring and even suffocating. However, the couples *should* understand each other and face it together when they encounter difficulties. It is not right to act in haste.

This article discusses overseas Chinese marriages. In previous discussions, the author analyzed current unstable marriage situations for many overseas Chinese and also listed external factors corresponding with this phenomenon. In the conclusion paragraph, the author strongly proposed her/his attitude that Chinese couples “should” understand each other and make an effort to maintain their marriages. The author’s opinion is in accordance with Chinese traditional culture that marriage shouldn’t easily be broken. It is also mentioned in the article that western opinion about marriage is different from Chinese. Western people tend to believe that “compatibility holds a couple together while they can divorce if incompatibility exists”, but traditional Chinese culture usually supports the idea that marriages shouldn’t break up even if incompatibility exists between the couple. It explicitly reinforces the previous Discourse model No. 4 that Chinese diaspora still keep Chinese traditional ways of thinking in some aspects. Furthermore, in the study of Chinese intellectuals’ usage of the internet in USA, Melkote and Liu (2000) found that the more Chinese intellectuals search on the internet, the more “behavior acculturation” and the more Chinese values they will sustain. Marriage is an important part of Chinese values. Maybe circulation of articles on Skykiwi will also tend to advocate the idea of maintaining Chinese values. However, this single piece of evidence is too small a sample to prove the point and whether Skykiwi has the same role as discovered in Melkote and Liu’s study requires further research.

#### Sample article No. 12

同在异国的天空下，我们新老华人华侨~~应该~~团结起来，互勉互励，互相帮助，力求共同进步，这样做才对呀！

Under the same sky of a foreign country, our new and old Chinese Huaqiao and Huaren *should* unite, mutually encourage and help each other to make progress together. That is the right thing to do.

从以上的故事，使我深深体会到，洋人是友好的，我们在同一天空下，~~应该~~和睦相处，为把祖国建设得更富饶更美丽而努力。

From the above stories, I feel deep that foreigners are very friendly here. We are in the same sky, so we *should* live harmoniously and make contributes to the prosperity and beauty of New Zealand

The author in the first paragraph seems to express a belief that overseas Chinese should be a united community, meanwhile creating an imagined community within which all the members are tightly linked and mutually supported. The second paragraph reflects how the author orients towards lives in New Zealand. From his daily experience with New Zealanders, the author thinks that Chinese diaspora “should” integrate into the host society and establish harmonious relationship with local people. Although it is the author’s personal opinion about expatriate lives in New Zealand, the idea conveyed through media content and circulated through this online space is very close to what Anderson conceptualized as “imagined community”. As I discussed in Chapter 2, an important role that almost all diasporic media has is to foster community building and identity construction in a way that media users imagine them as a specific community and sharing a specific culture. Here the author takes a stance that Chinese diaspora should integrate into New Zealand society. It is in accordance with the Discourse model No. 3 that the Chinese diasporic discourse on Skykiwi combines easily with a positive attitude towards New Zealand and local people. Moreover, the presence and circulation of such knowledge through the Skykiwi website appears to provide the imagination or option for the audiences about a certain way of life in New Zealand, which also supports Gilroy’s argument that “diasporic media can help the development of imagined presence” and “nonnational communities of sentiment and interpretation” (1995:17). Thus, there seems to be a strong overtone about the way Chinese diaspora should behave in their host country in the texts. The frequent usage of the modal word “should” is another significant characteristic of Skykiwi online discourse, providing an option to a certain way of life



and identity in the host country.

Next I will talk about adverbs which also function as markers of modality that refer to judgments, comments and attitudes of the authors. The adverb phrase “have to” indicates that something must be done due to subjective factors. The following examples are different situations in which some actions must be done according to external factors.

#### Sample No. 5

夏某和几个同学因制造C类毒品(用某种治疗感冒的药品提炼而成的),在其住所遭当地警方逮捕。在此后的两年多时间里,夏某和几名同学**不得不**放弃了学业,请律师打官司。

Xia ×× and his course mates were arrested by the local police because of making drug C (drug C means it was made by the element of flu medicine). In two years later on, Xia and his course mates **had to** drop their study and hired the lawyer for this lawsuit.

#### Sample No.12

留学生们是最可怜的人,也是最坚强的人,难道不是吗?当同龄人还在父母的呵护下挑三拣四,当国内同学们还在校园的角落里缠绵的时候,留学生们呢?在国内过惯了较为富足的生活,而如今流落异乡的时候, **不得不**为自己的生活精打细算。

The international student is the most pathetic and the strongest man, isn't it? When the peers are still under their parents' protections and when domestic students are lingering in the corner of the campus, what about international students? Though most international students were used to have the comfort life in China, now they **have to** plan carefully for their life in a new country.

The first example describes a bad example of a Chinese individual in New Zealand. The social actor is an international student and his initial purpose for being abroad is supposed to be study. However, he finally had to drop his study because of breaking the law. The author used “have to” here to stress the severe consequences of breaking the law in the host country - if one does something like Xia ××, he will be punished due to such bad behavior. It also works as a kind of moral principle to warn the readers that “we shouldn't behave like him”. As discussed previously, the naming pattern in this text reflects a Discourse model that clearly marks the difference between

“one like us” (Chinese diaspora with morality) and “others” (Chinese diaspora with bad behaviour); while the modality in use here builds a “small Discourse model” sitting alongside model 8: Chinese diaspora with bad behaviour will deserve the serious consequences.

The second example revealed the uneasy life of international students as they are away from home and parents. As opposed to the first article, the author here strengthened the external factors/difficulties that international students have to face. These external factors/difficulties may be the real cause of the students’ bad behavior and even lead to their crimes. The author believed the students could be tolerated even if they have done something wrong (such as breaking the law). As I said in earlier sections, it appears to contradict the previous Discourse model as the author believed “bad ones/students” should be still seen as “one of us” and members of the “big overseas Chinese family” who deserved other members’ care and understanding. It is due to the author’s strong sense of community that he felt a duty of moral support to those students.

The two authors both talk about instances of bad behavior by international students in New Zealand, but indicate different points of view. The first author seemed to exclude this student from “us” and shows no respect, while the second insisted that international students are “one of us”. It appears that different voices have been found in this online space referring to the “bad Chinese images”. So it is a fact there is disagreement on the site. Of course this disagreement is not something that seems to be a problem for the site; instead, it signals there is a sense of a space that is generally heterogeneous where a few moments of disagreement can emerge, but people have to justify, apologize, soften or otherwise hedge the disagreement. More importantly, this theme of what to do about bad members of the Chinese community is a common one; which suggests that “who we are” as a community is an important element of talk on the site, a point I have made earlier.

### Sample No. 16

近些年中国经济的发展和国力的强大，使得世界各国**不得不**扭转观念重新刮目回看中国，经济利益的趋势，巨大生意市场的诱惑，中国的文化，中国的语言都成了抢手货，成了建立生意的道路和桥梁。

With the development in economy and strong national power, other countries *have to* change the old ideas towards China. With the trend of market interests and attraction of huge business market, Chinese culture and Chinese language become popular, as the roads and bridges of establishing businesses.

The phrase “have to” here highlights the fact that in recent years China has had great developments in national power. It indicates a sense of pride in being Chinese and also reflects the author has retained concerns about China even if he is overseas. It could be noted here that the texts also generate an imagined belonging to China although the author and the readers are not physically in Chinese territory. Perhaps the Skykiwi website also functions as building an imagined community; which was described by Hiller and Franz: “this online community was built from a generalized sense of belonging based on a group identity and a territorial homeland and reinforces it through online interaction” (2004: 745). Therefore, a modification to Discourse model 6 may be needed here - there is an imagined community built on Skykiwi in which Chinese diaspora tend to claim their belongingness, strong ties of duty and sense of pride in China.

### 6.4.2 Conversion thinking

Inspired by Chapter 5, this section carries out analysis from the view of “presupposition” so as to get the unstated but implied information relevant to social actors’ identities. More than supporting an earlier Discourse model, the conversion analysis of specific types of words in the following sections reveals the possibilities of some pre-existing problems from the discourses on multi-level social activities taken by Chinese individuals and collectives in the host country. For instance; the negative problem-oriented portrayal of Chinese diaspora by mass media in New Zealand, the problem of Chinese diasporic identity construction and orientation in the host country,

and over-estimation or over-reaction regarding New Zealand treatment of Chinese which seems to downplay some Discourse models of successfully integrated cultural identity in New Zealand.

#### Sample No. 9

又到中秋，又见月圆。我们期盼大家来参加我们的聚会。祝愿在新西兰的华人朋友阖家团聚，花好月圆。

**Again** the Mid-Autumn day comes and **again** the full moon we will see. We hope happiness and bliss in family - like blooming flowers and full moon.

Mid-Autumn Day is the annual festival for Chinese people. Here the word “again” presupposes that Chinese people still keep celebrating Chinese traditional festivals each year. It can be seen that the whole article is filled with happiness and excitement around the festival. This example not only reinforces Discourse model 7 that Chinese diaspora appear to have been influenced by culture in China and attempt to promote such culture on Skykiwi, but also complements the previous model in maintaining that celebrating traditional culture seems an important way of being Chinese for diaspora in New Zealand.

#### Sample No. 12

近来频频见诸华文和英文媒体的华裔绑架事件，不知道牵动了多少人的心。又一次，刚显得平静的奥克兰波澜又起。

绑架案发生后，我在心中默默地祈祷：千万不要又是我们留学生阿！

The recent **frequent reports** on Chinese kidnapping crimes from Chinese and English media touched many people’s hearts. **Once again**, the peace of Auckland was broken.

After the kidnapping case, I prayed in my heart: don’t be our international students **again!**

The word “again” illustrated the fact that there were some Chinese students who broke the law and there have been many reports on such issues. On the one hand, some Chinese students have done bad things to harm others in New Zealand. On the other hand, due to “frequent reports” of such a bad image in English and Chinese media, there is a question about whether there are great numbers of students

committing crime, or the media over-representing negative images of Chinese students. As discussed in Chapter 2, there is a considerable body of literature showing that diaspora people tend to have stereotypical and ideological representations by mass media. Misrepresentation and negative problem-oriented portrayal of the diaspora is often the case in the mass media. It is possible to presuppose from the article that the above problems exist in New Zealand as well. And so part of the sorrow in the article is about the way the case cited will reinforce those prejudices.

### Sample No. 13

据新西兰《乡音报》报道，连续两次大获成功的“Going Bananas 新西兰华人论坛”将于8月18日和19日两天在奥克兰商学院再次举行。

负责本次论坛组织活动的新西兰华联总会表示，这一论坛将为所有新西兰以及海外华人审视自己的身份、文化等提供一种崭新的途径。

According to New Zealand “Xiangyin Newspaper” report, the two previous successful “Going Bananas New Zealand Huaren Forum” will be held *again* on 18-19<sup>th</sup> August in Auckland Business College.

New Zealand Chinese Association, the organizer of this forum, believed this forum will provide a brand new way for New Zealand Huaren and all overseas Huaren to review self identities and cultures.

This is an article about Huaren forums held in New Zealand, which discussed Huaren identities through their overseas experience. The word “again” indicated there were more forums like this held before. The first presupposition we have immediately is that the forum is popular enough to be held again. Then the further assumption we may have is that it is probably necessary to hold such forums again due to the problem that Chinese diaspora have in their identity constructions. The discourse in the website may present an image that Chinese have various social activities in the host country but may also indicate pre-existing problems about the above issue.

### Sample No. 16

近些年中国经济的发展和国力的强大，使得世界各国不得不扭转观念重新刮目回看中国。

With the development in economy and strong national power, other countries have to *change the old ideas* towards China.

This article discussed whether it is necessary for New Zealanders to learn Chinese. Due to the closer trading relationship between China and New Zealand in recent years, Prime Minister John Key made a speech that “New Zealand will have more schools to teach Chinese” during his visit to China. Obviously, new views of China seem to be positive. It seems to be the opposite situation to Sample No.12 (negative problem-oriented portrayal of the diaspora). Two possibilities are here: on the one hand, it is likely that the situation of Chinese diaspora has been greatly changed in New Zealand recently, and perhaps Chinese elements have become popular topics in New Zealand’s media outlets, or even Chinese diaspora have appeared to be fairly and positively represented by the mass media; on the other hand, there may be a little over-estimation of the impact or over-reaction to one speech made by the prime minister. The important aspect is the author doesn’t seem to recognize the extent to which there are problems in New Zealand’s treatment of Chinese - the author is thinking in terms of economics and not culturally, and so tends towards Discourse models in which relationships are grounded in rational self-interest rather than cultural difference; which appears to downplay those Discourse models of Chineseness in New Zealand.

#### Sample No. 18

陈文照说，炒腰花当年在新西兰是没人吃的，现在则在新西兰很负盛名。有一天早晨，陈文照去惠灵顿附近的一个农贸市场。那个集市早上五六时就开张。当他走到卖猪肉的一个摊位时，看见告示上用英文写着：猪下水已售完。这让陈文照心中一热。“我感受很深，因为我以前去的时候，卖肉的人都把猪下水剔出去，认为是脏东西不能吃，而现在却变得供不应求。这说明中餐在新西兰的影响很大。”

Chen Wenzhao also said that there *used to* be no one eating fried kidney in New Zealand before but this dish became very popular now. One morning Chen Wenzhao went to a near market which opened 5:00 a.m. When he came up to a butcher’s shop, he saw a notice in English - “today’s pork kidney has been sold out”. It touched Chen Wenzhao’s heart immediately, “I have a deep feeling about it. Because when I went to the market in the past, the butcher always ticked off the pig kidney since they believed it was so dirty for eating. But now the pig kidney became a short supply, which proved that Chinese food have had great influence in New Zealand.”

This is a distinctive example of how the relationship between diaspora and a majority

in a host country could be mutually communicated. It indicates that the status of Chinese diaspora is changing because there may be situations in which New Zealanders are also influenced by Chinese culture. The integration of Chinese in New Zealand may not be just a one way trend, but rather involve two-way communications. The author seems to highlight the influence of Chinese culture in the texts. The descriptions of comparison with past in the text indicate a changed situation for Chinese diasporas' lives in New Zealand. The new status seems to be at an improved level that presents an image of harmonious lives in the host country.

## **6.5 Combing propositions - Rhetoric strategy**

Rhetoric has been defined and redefined by scholars with two themes occurring with regularity. First, they believe that the practices of rhetoric are essentially used on a political stage; second, rhetoric is “discourse calculated to influence an audience toward some end” (Van Dijk, 1997a: 157). In some circumstances, there isn't an easy and widely available way of expressing a shared understanding, and so there needs to be rhetorical effort put in to make those links.

### **6.5.1 Hyperbole**

According to Richardson, “hyperbole is an example of excessive exaggeration made for rhetorical effect, which has been widely used in news reporting, and especially in reporting social out-groups - racial and ethnic minorities, criminals and mental health patients” (2007: 65 ). The following is such an example that reports an “out-group” individual - Chinese international student Xia ×× who committed a crime and was repatriated by New Zealand police.

#### **Sample 5**

看着夏某本人和护照上的照片对比,“简直看不出是一个人。”边检民警说,夏某刚刚 20 多岁,他本人比照片上 **像是老了 10 多岁**,面无表情地坐在边检审查室里。

Looking at the man in real and the photo on the passport, “it is hard to believe they are the same person”, said the Chinese police, ‘Xia ×× is just over 20 years old, but he *looks ten years older* than the photo and he sat in the office without any expression on his face”.

In the reporting of this story, the writer uses a hyperbole here - specifically choosing to describe Xia as “looks ten years older” - implying that he must have suffered physical or spiritual punishments for what he has done. The rhetoric discourse here seems to function as a method of influencing the audiences to a reliable judgment that this is a bad example of Chinese diaspora and thus he has to “pay for the wrong doings”. Hence, the writer tends to take this chance to warn the other Chinese diaspora that “the result is really severe for committing a crime and we should obey local laws in the host country”.

### 6.5.2 Metaphor

As I discussed earlier, metaphor is a commonly used rhetorical practice. The findings show that metaphor is also widely used by Chinese writers in the sample articles on Skykiwi.

#### Sample 6

笔者听后足足愣了半晌。不是因为自己思想陈旧腐化，只是霎时觉得这“围城” *好似菜市场*一般，出入得也太随意了。

I froze for a while when I heard it. It is not because of my conservative views on marriage, but rather I feel this “fortress besieged” (marriage) is *like a supermarket* that it is so easy for them to go in and out.

Here the author used the notion of “supermarket” - something already known - to describe the circumstances of traditional marriage of Huaren - a more unfamiliar idea-trying to establish the understanding that “it is too easy for Huaren to get married and divorced”. We all know going in and out of the supermarket is free and easy. If marriage is like the supermarket, then we may imagine the unstable relationships between the Huaren couples. So by using the metaphor to criticize the current



marriage situation, the writer seems to call on Huaren to maintain the traditional Chinese attitudes towards marriage.

### Sample 8

新西兰的交通是较发达的,但是美中不足的是许多道路的路牌上都标有“NO EXIT”字样。如果展开交通地图看看,你就会发现有很多这样的“盲肠”。意思是“此路不通”,如果用中国人常用的话来说就是“断头路”,“死胡同”。

New Zealand's transportation systems have high developed, except that many road signs marked “No Exit”. If you look at the whole traffic map, you will find a lot of such “*appendix*”. “No Exit” means this road is blocked in the end. If described it in Chinese, it will be “*Duantou Lu*”<sup>18</sup> or “*Dead end*”.

The writer described the road marked “NO EXIT” as an appendix<sup>19</sup> which is almost a useless organ in the human body. The metaphoric language in this text presents a particular view that the road marked “NO EXIT” is useless for the advanced transportation system in New Zealand. Then the writer used two more metaphors - “Duantou Lu” and “Dead end” which are Chinese descriptions, to further strengthen the previous metaphor, trying to establish a connection between the “NO EXIT” road and the meaning of death or end. The purpose of this successive metaphor usage seems to give the readership an impression that such roads are no good. Hence, the author tried to influence the readership's attitudes by shared Chinese culture and a Chinese way of thinking. This rhetorical practice is similar to Ivie's (1987)<sup>20</sup> identification of the purpose of a specific metaphoric language - using a cluster of words around a single metaphor to strengthen a particular way of understanding events. Since the readership is clearly oriented towards Chinese intertexts, the way identity is performed here is similar to the “making sense of host country” example in Chapter 5 - no matter whether Chinese diaspora integrate fully or not, they maintain their Chinese culture meaning system to make sense of lives in New Zealand. It can

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<sup>18</sup>Duantou Lu, 断头路, means the road leading to death.

<sup>19</sup>Appendix here refers to the organ of a human being - the cavity in which the large intestine begins and into which the ileum opens.

<sup>20</sup>Ivie has done research in metaphoric language used in news reports. He made a critical view on the rhetoric use of ‘the cluster of words around a single metaphor’ because the results turn out to promote a reversal attitude among the audiences rather than strengthening the original metaphor and meaning.

be seen as another piece of evidence for Discourse model 4.

#### Sample18

去年开始每个家庭上餐馆的次数明显减少，很多人开始自己动手在自家院子里开辟出一片菜地。本来，自己种些爱吃的或蔬菜店里卖得比较贵的菜，是华人的“**专利**”，洋人的院子里比较注重栽培花草。眼下，面对百年不遇的金融危机，一些洋人也顾不得鸟语花香了，纷纷开荒种菜，倘若金融危机缠绵不休，至少也不至于饿肚子。

The numbers of going to the restaurants for every family reduced significantly since last year and many people started to plant vegetables in their backyards. Originally, it is the “**monopoly**” of Huaren to grow some favorite vegetables or ones which are expensive to buy from markets. Local people seemed to prefer various plants in their yards. But right now, confronted with the financial crisis, some local people began to grow vegetables as well, giving plants away. If the financial crisis becomes endlessly, at least they will not face the problem of starving.

Growing vegetables for eating is a popular behavior among Chinese diaspora. So the author used a metaphor here to describe this special behavior as a “monopoly”, indicating that local people and other ethnicity don’t do such things. However, due to the financial crisis, many New Zealanders began to grow vegetables like Chinese diaspora. The author gives a view here that Chinese culture may have power to influence local culture in some circumstances. It reinforces the argument I made in the conversion thinking section that the status of Chinese diaspora is changing as there may be situations in which New Zealanders are also influenced by Chinese culture. Therefore, we may assume a new Discourse model based on these examples that:

**9. The discourse that “the relationship between Chinese diaspora and the majority in the host country could be mutually communicated” is distinctive characteristic on Skykiwi.**

In addition, from conversion thinking, a metaphor is needed here as it suggests the above Discourse model needs to be expressed strongly.

#### Sample 20

就在这个急煞人的时刻，就近房子里的洋人拿着雨具，冒着风雨冲到我面前，示意叫我拿着他带来的雨

具挡雨。当时，我有了他送来给我的雨具，问题很快就解决了，洋人的行动，真是“雪中送炭”精神可嘉！

At this urgent moment, a local people from the near house rushed to me with his rain gear and gave it to me. The problem was resolved with his help. Local people's action is really like “*sending charcoal in snowy weather!*”

“Giving the rain gear in the big rain” and “sending charcoal in the snowy weather” are indeed two similar ways of describing “timely help”. As “sending charcoal in snowy weather” is a familiar idiom often used in Chinese writing that represents a great virtue in Chinese culture, it is easier for Chinese readers to understand the author's emotion at the time use of the metaphor here.

The above are some examples of rhetoric use in Skykiwi articles. By using various rhetoric discourses, the authors have vividly presented the events and make their points easier to understand, so as to influence audiences to some end. However, the special and symbolic phenomenon in these articles is that rhetoric language is always associated with Chinese culture and the Chinese way of thinking, which implies the shared identities of writers as well as readers in the Skykiwi website. It is also saying that the wisdom needed to live here comes from maintaining Chineseness, not by integrating fully. Therefore, the rhetoric strategies used in these articles suggest a contribution to Discourse models 4 & 7.

## 6.6 Intertextuality

This section will continue to look at intertextual features of the texts which discursively constitute social relations and practices, as discussed in Chapters 4&5, drawing on Fairclough's approaches of intertextuality. For the purpose of analyzing intertextual perspectives on the site, I collected four news reports from the samples (according to the “source” item attached with each sample article) as a database. Among the 15 news reports, I focus only on the four sample articles for the following analysis, as summarized in the following table:

News Titles	Source
Sample 13 探讨海外华人的生活经历 新西兰华人论坛将举行 Discussing life experiences of overseas Chinese - New Zealand Chinese Forum will be held	中国侨网 Overseas Chinese Net
Sample 14 奥克兰孔子学院优秀考生获邀参加夏令营和奖学金学习班 Excellent students of Auckland Confucius Institute invited to participate in summer camp and scholarship classes	奥克兰孔子学院 Auckland Confucius Institute
Sample 16 新西兰中学生各抒己见：学习汉语并非必不可少 New Zealand high school students expressing their views: Learning Chinese is not that essential	中国华文教育网 Chinese education web
Sample 19 新西兰震区救援工作专业有序(组图) New Zealand earthquake relief work is professional and in order (with photos)	新华网 Xinhua Net

### 6.6.1 Representations of social actors

In Fairclough's (2003) *CDA* framework, the analysis of discourses can help us to understand how the world is represented, such as the representations of social events, participants (social actors), circumstances (time and space), and so on. In the following section, I will specifically look at the representations of participants/social actors in three sample articles (No. 13, 16 and 19) through an analysis of quotation patterns in texts. As news reports, all three sample articles have different choices to represent social actors/participants. According to Van Leeuwen (1996), different representations of social actors may indicate different power relationships formed between different participants or groups. Developing from Van Leeuwen's point of view, Fairclough talks about various choices in the representation of social actors:

--inclusion/exclusion (whether a social actor is included in the text or excluded?);

- pronoun/noun (is the social actor referred as a pronoun or a noun?);
- grammatical role (is the social actor realized as a participant in a clause or as a possessive noun or pronoun);
- activated/passivated (is the social actor represented as Actor in processes or the Affected);
- personal/impersonal (social actors can be represented personally or impersonally);
- named/classified (social actors can be represented by name, class or category);
- specific/generic (social actors can be represented specifically or generically)

(2003: 145–146)

Drawing on the above variables, I will specifically look at the quotation patterns in each article so as to find out how the social actors are represented in Skykiwi news.

### Sample 13

负责本次论坛组织活动的新西兰华联总会**表示**, 这一论坛将为所有新西兰以及海外华人审视自己的身份、文化等提供一种崭新的途径。

New Zealand Chinese Association, the organizer of this forum, **expressed** that this forum will provide a new way for New Zealand Huaren and all overseas Huaren to review self-identities and cultures.

新西兰华联总会主席 Kai Luey 表示, “本次论坛将新西兰国内外的华人定位为一个自豪、自信和活跃的团体, 集中体现一些人的经历, 他们克服了在成功之路上的个人和职业问题上的挑战。”...

The President of New Zealand Huaren Association Kai Luey said, “The forum will identify Huaren in New Zealand and abroad as a proud, confident and active community. It will embody the experiences of some Chinese, especially who have overcome a lot of personal difficulties to in their ways to succeed...”

奥克兰商学院也将会对本次会议大力协助, 该商学院院长 Barry Spicer 教授对华人在 150 年的时间内对新西兰的发展和繁荣做出的贡献表示了高度赞扬...

Auckland Business College will also give great supports to the conference. The Dean Professor Barry Spicer praised the contributions from Chinese on the development and prosperity of New Zealand in 150 years.

This news article “Going Bananas New Zealand Huaren Forum” includes three authorial voices, the New Zealand Chinese Association, the President of the New Zealand Chinese Association and the Dean Professor of Auckland Business College. The successive indirect and direct quotations of remarks, statements, and comments made by three social actors have taken up the main parts of the whole report, including paragraph 2, 3 and 4. For instance, the institute of New Zealand Huaren

Association is referred to personally by the humanizing description of “expressed”, creating the representational effect of people with thoughts and emotions. Thus it emphasizes the salience and agency of the association and constructs it as an authorial and faithful institution. Other examples of quotations with similar purposes are found in sample 19:

他认为新西兰政府的救灾应对措施行之有效，有条不紊。“对于普通民众，政府现在主要是保证饮用水和食品供应，对于房屋受损严重的人和老弱病残，政府**给予的照顾**更多一些。关于民众财产损失，保险公司已经**表态会积极**理赔，大家的心理压力不算太大”。

He believed that New Zealand government carried out effective relief work. For general citizens, the government mainly guaranteed the supply of drinking water and food. While for the people suffered severe damages to their houses, the government ***gave more cares***. In terms of public property losses, the insurance companies already announced to take all claims ***initiatively***. So the citizens didn't seem to have much pressure now.

市政府**说**，市民可以拨打免费热线电话，以寻求帮助或了解最新的灾后资料。

The City Council ***said*** that all citizens could dial free hotline to seek help or information on the latest situations.

This news article about “New Zealand earthquake relief work” includes a number of voices from local Chinese. The author may try to achieve two goals by direct and indirect quoting of local Chinese attitudes: a) reporting the circumstances of local Huaren after the quake as the potential readers of Skykiwi are Chinese; b) attempting to construct a sense of sympathetically reporting the fact that earthquake relief work is efficiently and professionally carried out by the New Zealand government. Using the words of local Chinese could reinforce this sympathetic reporting better. Looking at the first quotation from the interview of Huaren Mr. Xu, we find that government actions locally are indirectly quoted and described as “guaranteed” and in the Chinese idiom “gave more cares”, which constructed a trustful and humanizing image.

In regard to the second quotation, although the word “said” is a neutral verb, not particularly humanizing, it still indicates a sense of close relationship, as in communication between two people. By using the quoting verb “said”, the author represented Christchurch City Council as a department that is available and accessible

for assistance. The above descriptions are positive evaluations of New Zealand governmental reactions towards the disaster, and thereby strengthen the Discourse model 3 again that Chinese diasporic discourse on Skykiwi combines easily with a positive attitude towards the host country.

#### Sample 16

连日来，总理约翰·基在中国访问期“将推动新西兰更多的学校教授中文”的言论，随着新西兰各路媒体抢眼的报道，成为新西兰家喻户晓，人人皆知的热门话题。总理认为新中关系是关乎两国贸易和财富的大事，新西兰若想和中国建立一个有实际意义的生意关系，学习汉语必不可少。目前新西兰现有 2500 多所中学里，只有 89 所开设了中文课，总理认为这是远远不够，甚至是可悲的。因此总理在中国高调提出将在新西兰更多的学校开设中文(普通话)教学课程。

Recently, due to the highlighted reports from each New Zealand media, the speech - “New Zealand will promote more schools to teach Chinese language” made by the Prime Minister John Key during his visit to China became the hot topic known to almost every New Zealanders and families. The Prime Minister believes the relationship between China and New Zealand is much relative to the bilateral trade and wealth. Learning Chinese is essential if New Zealand want to build a practical business relationship with China. Among the current more than 2500 schools, only 89 provide Chinese courses. The Prime Minister thinks it is far from enough and even distressing. Therefore, the Prime Minister strongly proposed to provide more Chinese language (Mandarin) courses in schools of New Zealand during his stay in China.

一位在中国从商 25 年的新西兰人甚至说到：我们该有一代说普通话的新西兰人。

A New Zealander who has been doing business in China for 25 years even said, “We should have a generation of New Zealanders speaking Mandarin”.

News actors quoted in this article can be grouped into three categories: the New Zealand Prime Minister John Key, a New Zealand businessman and high school students. By including views of different social actors and groups, this news report constructs the Prime Minister’s speech of “promoting Chinese learning in New Zealand schools” as a hot topic that has evoked wide response and concern in New Zealand. The Prime Minister’s statements on the importance of learning the Chinese language are quoted, both directly and indirectly, in the first paragraph. The inclusion of John Key’s speech and the first paragraph in the article emphasize the prominence of John Key’s position and role in the event. Then a New Zealand businessman’s personal view strengthens previous statements. While highlighting the importance of

the authorial claims from the Prime Minister and personal perspective of a New Zealand individual, this news report then directly quotes views from a group of high school students with different national identities - Cheng Ming (Huayi), Ain (Malaysian), Rachel (New Zealander), Nadeeja (from Sri Lanka) and Cindy (Malaysian Chinese). The first thing of note is that the viewpoints of high school students turn out to be slightly different from the Prime Minister's in that they think "learning Chinese is important but not that essential", except that one student only - Cindy - completely agrees with the Prime Minister. The second thing of note is that social actors are represented by their national identities. This specific classification of social actors' identities demonstrates that the author has included a wide array of voices both with Chinese and other origins. The news text style set of intertexts is placing the Skykiwi author as knowing what lots of people think (and so in the journalist's position of being able to represent in some rough form what "we all" know). The use of intertextuality here tells readers the relevant information about how the perspective of "promoting learning Chinese" is positioned in New Zealand life, at least as Skykiwi writers represent. More importantly, it creates a sense that learning Chinese does arouse many local peoples' concerns and thus contributes to the new Discourse model I built in the last section that the discourse that "the relationship between diaspora and the majority in the host country could be mutually communicated" is distinctive on Skykiwi.

#### Sample 19

在新西兰皇家地质与核科学研究所工作的华人地震专家、高级研究员余嘉顺说，新西兰建筑法一个最重要的原则是，强震发生时，有关设计和建设必须能保证建筑物不倒塌。。。

Yu Jiashun, Huaren earthquake expert and senior researcher worked in Royal New Zealand Institute of Geological and Nuclear Science, said that the most important principle of New Zealand Building Act is that the relevant design and construction must ensure not to collapse when the earthquake occurs...

Similar to the previous sample news, the report of a Christchurch earthquake (Sample 19) also includes a range of social actors' voices in both direct and indirect quotation patterns. This article begins with an indirect quotation from a Huaren earthquake expert about New Zealand building systems, presenting professional views to explain the



“zero-death miracle”. The social actor identity here is referred to in an official way - with the working and professional title before the name. Such concrete and classified representation of the social actor highlights his salience in the earthquake, treating his position as an authoritative voice in understanding the event. Moreover, the reference to his ethnic identity as “Huaren” also implies the presence and function of a Chinese element that commonly exists in the social life of the host country. Thus, the explicit identity claim of the social actor in this example, as I discussed in Chapter 5, is one of the most significant features on Skykiwi. It strengthens the previous Discourse model that Chinese diaspora appear to emphasize their Chinese origins in identity claims.

华商胡安琪...胡女士在新西兰生活工作多年，她深有感触地对记者说，自己以前对新西兰一些部门办事程序烦琐非常不满，但此次地震改变了她的看法：“正是因为包括建筑商在内的每个人平时都严格照章办事，才可能有今天的零死亡奇迹。”

Huayi businesswoman Hu Anqi...Ms Hu lived and worked in New Zealand for many years and she told the reporter that she used to be very unsatisfied at cumbersome procedures of some departments in New Zealand. But through this earthquake she changed her mind, “It is just because everyone including construction businessmen that were all strictly accordance to the rules that the zero-death miracle happened today.”

在克赖斯特彻奇开设中医诊所多年的林医生则显得很平静。他说，自己经历过多次地震，已经能坦然面对这一切。

Dr. Lin who opened clinic in Christchurch for many years looked very calm. He said he has gone through many earthquakes and has already been able to calmly deal with that.

华人徐叶明在 1976 年唐山大地震发生时正住在北京一幢楼房里。他 7 日接受记者采访时说：“这次地震一发生，我就觉得震级不小。但目前看来，我们的生活没有受到太大影响。”他认为新西兰政府的救灾应对措施行之有效，有条不紊。。。

Huaren Xu Ming...said in the interview on 7th, “When the earthquake happened, I could feel it is not a small one. But for the current situation, our life has not been seriously affected.”He believed that New Zealand government carried out effective relief work...

The direct and indirect quotations from three local Chinese demonstrate the fact that the earthquake relief work is indeed orderly and thus there is not much damage to local Huaren. Similarly to Huaren expert Yu Jiashun, Ms. Hu and Dr. Lin are both referred to with full names, working titles (businesswoman and doctor separately) and ethnic identity; while another social actor is referred to only with name and ethnicity, which

reflected his social identity as an ordinary Huaren citizen. The statements of Ms Hu are firstly quoted indirectly and then directly. We sense an emphasis and poignancy to the latter part of her statements as the direct quotation presents the author's faithfulness to the original. The description of Ms Hu's changed attitude in the quotations further puts the central point of this news - New Zealand earthquake relief work is professional and in order - in prominence. More importantly, the quotations from Ms Hu reflect the process of adapting to local rules by a Huaren individual. Ms Hu seems to maintain a Chinese perspective towards the local government before the earthquake and then changes to understand the New Zealand way of doing things now. The indirect quotations from Dr. Lin construct his identity as an experienced individual who has gone through several earthquakes in New Zealand. It also reveals that Dr. Lin may not have been able to keep calm in the past, however, now he has changed and can adapt to such disaster. So the above intertextual analysis tells us how Chinese and Chinese perspectives are positioned in New Zealand life, at least as Skykiwi writers represent things. It fits into the idea of previous Discourse models that examples of integrated Chinese in New Zealand are often cases in Skykiwi discourse.

Direct quotations from Mr. Xu imply a comparison between China's Tangshan earthquake in 1976 and the Christchurch one. The word "but" from Mr. Xu's quotation indicates a sense of personal evaluation - the events of two earthquakes are similar, but local people's lives after a quake are obviously different due to different counter-measures by governments. Thus, it reflects the social actor's approval and praise of the local government, which is another piece of evidence for Discourse model 3.

市长鲍勃·帕克从 6 日起每日定时向传媒汇报最新的善后工作进度。他呼吁市民在危难时刻保持团结，并表示有信心照顾好城内所有人，包括年老和独居人士。

From 6th, the Christchurch mayor Bob Parker regularly reported the latest progress of rebuilding work to the media. He called on the public solidarity in the crisis and expressed his confidence in taking good care of all citizens, including elderly and people living alone.

市长帕克表示，政府会仔细考虑将款项用于有需要的人士身上。

The mayor Parker claimed that the government would carefully use the money for those who are in need.

Finally, the author indirectly quotes Mayor Bob Parker's speech that represents the New Zealand official voice and response to the event, strengthening the image of "effective relief work conducted by New Zealand government towards the natural disaster" that the author has already built so far. Again, this quotation expresses a sense of approval and praise for local government, which reinforces the Discourse model of "positive attitude towards the host country".

Therefore, by including voices of various social actors, this news article constructs this earthquake event as the "zero-death miracle" that hasn't affected local citizens' lives greatly, especially for the Huaren community, due to high-standard building systems and effective relief work. The representation of social actors in direct and indirect quotation patterns provides important information about how various social actors and their perspectives are positioned in New Zealand life. Meanwhile, the writers also represent and emphasize several points that reinforce some Discourse models constructed so far, for instance, the influence of the Chinese element in New Zealand, the positive attitude to or evaluation of the host country, and the process of integrating into host life.

### 6.6.2 Discursive achievements

By the intertextual analysis of the above four news reports, we can identify the various representations of social actors and thus reveal different identity constructions of social actors. In this section, I will look from a distinct angle - the author's identity construction, so as to illustrate how the discursive work is produced on Skykiwi. The news articles No. 14 and 16 are set as examples for comparative analysis as both articles are centered on the same topic of "learning Chinese", but with different processes for constructing authors' identities. By distinguishing between a news

reporting style and an evaluative argument style<sup>21</sup> in two articles, I will also discuss the intersection of two styles in some relevant texts to explore the discursive space of Skykiwi.

Both of the news articles are relevant to the topic of “learning Chinese”, however, the process of constructing authors’ identities are different. As discussed earlier, the article No. 16 (New Zealand High School Students expressing their views: Learning Chinese is not that essential) demonstrates a few different identities constructed textually and intertextually. The writer in this news report begins with an abstract that summarizes Prime Minister John Key’s speech about “promoting learning Chinese in New Zealand schools”. In paragraph one, the author gives information to the conventional questions of “what”, “when”, “where”, “who” and “why”, explaining the content and background situation of the Prime Minister’s viewpoints. Within this background information, the author establishes a narrative style from the opening paragraph, followed by narratives of other relevant information and fact in the next two paragraphs. By offering the additional details about the importance of learning Chinese culture and language as well as a direct quotation of reactions from a New Zealander, the author establishes himself as knowing what lots of people think - learning Chinese attracts many people’s concerns and it will be very important for New Zealanders in the future. Besides reporting the fact, the author also expresses an evaluative sense here by inserting interpretative statements into the factual speech made by the Prime Minister:

Recently, due to the highlighted reports from each New Zealand media, the speech - “New Zealand will promote more schools to teach Chinese language” made by the Prime Minister John Key during his visit to China became the hot topic known to almost every New Zealanders and families.

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<sup>21</sup> According to Fairclough (2003: 159-190), styles are the discursive aspect of ways to being, identities. Styles are linked to identification - emphasizing the process of identifying, how people identify themselves and are identified by others. Evaluation is a way in which authors commit themselves to certain values by explicitly or implicitly expressing what is right or wrong, good or bad; it is an important way for people to identify themselves and construct certain identities or personae for themselves.

Rather than merely reporting the Prime Minister's speech, the relative information "highlighted reports from each New Zealand media" and "became the hot topic known to almost every New Zealanders and families" in the first sentence functions more as an emphasis of the significance of a speech indicating the proposal to learn Chinese has aroused interest in most New Zealand society. The adverb "strongly" that modifies the Prime Minister's action of "propose" seems to create a sense of evaluation that stresses the importance of learning Chinese. By inserting these evaluative elements into the factual statement, the author identifies himself not only as a reporter but also as a knower or guide of the "current situation". Then in the next paragraph, the author makes assumptions about the influence of this news:

There is no doubt that this is good news for the group of people who now work in Chinese language education in New Zealand. It is also the proud moment for New Zealand Huaren who possesses their mother tongues. Some people even think Chinese will be the third important language after Maori in New Zealand in the future.

Using this paragraph to comment on the significance of the Prime Minister's proposal, the author provides the audience with certain background in which to interpret the Prime Minister's speech and guide people's reading of the event. Similarly, in the following paragraph the author continues to comment on the global trend of learning Chinese culture and language, making a specific interpretative of the situation, and so guide readers to understand this situation. By direct quotation from a New Zealander in paragraph 3: "we should have a generation of New Zealanders speaking Mandarins", the author reinforces his role as an authoritative and trustful guide. Moreover, after exposure to a series of details about the situation in the first few paragraphs, the reader has already constructed an understanding of "learning Chinese is essential for New Zealand" as an authorial voice. Then the author made a comment followed by the direct quotation - "promoting learning Chinese seems to be the trend", fusing the authorial voice with the reported voice. This unclear statement allows the author to identify

himself with the quoted voice and to report and comment on the importance and trend of learning Chinese. Thus, the discursive way that the author makes the report and constructs identity is significant. The author firstly constructs himself as a reporter of the fact, presenting his commitment to the truth by direct quotations; then the author shifts to constantly explain, evaluate, and interpret the event for the reader.

The process of identity achievement in this article becomes more complex as the author shifts to a dialogical character engaged in conversations with readers at the end of paragraphs 3. By proposing the question “what are the younger New Zealand generations’ views on the Prime Minister’s speech”, the author shortens the distance with readers and creates an easy and close relationship within which the readers are engaged in a dialogue of whether learning Chinese is essential. This dialogic character shifts again as the author directly quoted speeches of five high school students of Wellington in the rest of the paragraphs (paragraph 4-8). By quoting various points of view from the high school students, the author expresses his commitment to the truth. Thus, the ways that the author constructs certain identities are complex and discursive in this news article, not only in assuming the identity of a reporter of the truth, but also as a guide and commentator who offers his own interpretation of the event.

Compared with Sample news No. 16, news article No. 14, entitled “Excellent students of Auckland Confucius Institute invited to participate in summer camp and scholarship classes”, is less diversified in the construction of author identity. However, this article also presents a mixture of various identities shifting between authoritatively reporting of the event and making evaluative statements on it. Like news No. 16, the author of this article begins with an abstract that summarizes the event for the reader in the first paragraph, followed by two paragraphs (paragraphs 2-3) of the detailed information about the results of HSK/YCT (Chinese language examination) scholarships (that eight excellent candidates finally were invited to attend the summer camp activity in China) and arrangements for summer camp activities. In these narrative statements, the author primarily takes on the style of news

reporting. However, as the article continues, the author makes increasingly explicit evaluative statements on the arrangements of summer camp programs and scholarship classes, turning the article from reporting the event to a series of statements of the significance and success of the activity by directly quoting two students' speeches (paragraphs 4-5):

Lucy, a student from Auckland University, attended scholarship classes and said, "I learnt a lot of Chinese this month, knew many Chinese cultures and met many international students who study Chinese. I never imagined that one day I will climb Tai Shan Mountain, see Confucius's hometown. It is too excited".

Wendy, another participant of summer camp, said, "Summer camp is really impressive that I could meet more than 300 friends from all over the world and study together. It is the best time in my life and I will treasure this good memory. I love Chinese test summer camp".

By quoting the two students' statements about attending the summer camp and scholarship classes, the author commits himself to the evaluations made by the students who regard the activity as an exciting and enjoyable memory. In doing so, the author positions himself as a supporter of the two students and the activity organizer (National Institute of China Hanban) while reporting the event. Thus, though the author of news report No. 16 manages in a more discursive way to present identity than the author of news report No. 14, both authors take on various identities. This combination of identities is very close to what Li (2009: 110) described in the study of "news discourse of national conflicts in the US and China" - "a reporter reporting the incident, a knower of 'truth', an authority guiding the readers' interpretation, a conversation interlocutor sharing common interests and concerns with the audience, or a strong supporter of a perspective" on the speech.

By embedding various identities within constant authorial and evaluative statements, the two authors, in their respective articles, project different representations of the influence in New Zealand of Chinese language and culture. The author of news article

No.16 represents “the proposal of teaching Chinese language in New Zealand schools” as an open question that needs further discussions. The author of news article No.14, in contrast, holds the view that “learning Chinese language is popular and meaningful for New Zealand students”. No matter how the two authors interpret and evaluate the event, they both assert one thing in common - the discourse that “the relationship between Chinese and New Zealanders could be mutually communicated in a cultural realm” aroused great interest, which reinforces the new Discourse model built earlier.

Hence, by drawing intertextually on the style of news reporting and evaluative argument, Skykiwi writers position the site as able to achieve some discursive work. More specifically, this is something to do with drawing in aspects of public talk and reworking them, and thereby forming a kind of confident assertion of the relevance of public debate to Skykiwi members and of their location within public life too.

## **6.7 Chapter summary and conclusion**

Drawn from more textual materials in Skykiwi in this chapter, some Discourse models built in the last chapter are reinforced and strengthened by more evidence and subsidiary models; some models are modified or replaced in the broader discourse context; other models are found to an extent in tension with each other; meanwhile new Discourse models are also built on the basis of previous models. I generally sort these Discourse models and explain this schematically in the following section.

The Discourse model 2 is modified in this chapter and reinforced by building three more subsidiary Discourse models:

2. There is a performance of hybrid cultural identity among Chinese diaspora in Skykiwi online discourse where Chinese diaspora also regard themselves as members of the host country.





**2. There is a performance of hybrid/negotiated identity on Skykiwi in which Chinese diaspora tend to accept only some aspects of culture of New Zealand while still maintaining Chinese values in other aspects.**

**2a.** Chinese diaspora may construct a hybrid cultural identity that enables them to move between two cultures and be both Chinese and New Zealanders.

**2b.** A widely available way of expressing a negotiated cultural identity on Skykiwi is by claiming greater knowledge of Chinese culture to understand local culture.

**2c.** The wisdom needed to live in New Zealand comes from maintaining Chineseness, not by integrating fully.

The analysis of larger amount of materials on Skykiwi offers more evidence for the idea that the hybrid formation of diasporic identity is a distinctive discourse produced on site. Moreover, the three subsidiary Discourse models further explain the constitution of this hybrid identity, that is, partial integration into New Zealand while maintaining Chineseness. This finding is very close to the concept of “pluralistic integration” raised by Melkote and Liu (2000), as I talked about in Literature, though the latter study is based on quantitative research. Instead of being limited to statistic data, the current study follows a qualitative research approach and focuses on specific words and discourse - exploring the connoted and denoted meanings embedded within them. In addition, the analysis reinforces the assumption in chapter 5 that Discourse model 2 is a master model that “shares across a great many different discourses” (Gee, 2005: 84-85).

There are two subsidiary Discourse models found in this chapter that sit alongside Discourse model 3 and thus consigning Discourse model 3 to a master model as well:

**3. The Chinese diasporic discourse on Skykiwi combines easily with a positive attitude towards the host country, without exclusiveness or simple rejection.**

**3a.** New Zealanders are very friendly with smiles and this smiling culture is the right thing for Chinese to learn from.

**3b.** The way to achieve the goal of a harmonious life in New Zealand is to understand and appreciate the host country's culture first and thereby actively integrating into the host society.

Obviously, the new models 3a and 3b share the same value with Discourse model 3 - the discourse of acculturation and integration is significant within the Skykiwi community, and so are served as subsidiary Discourse models or smaller models. It is noteworthy that the values these three models share in common seem to challenge the argument made by Yelenevskava (2005) in his study of Russian-speaking immigrants' use of the internet in Israel and Germany, as I talked about previously. Yelenevskava's (2005) study indicates that the immigrants' use of the internet would lead to their social alienation. However, the Discourse models built from Skykiwi reflect an opposite situation; that this diasporic network could facilitate certain adaptation and integration processes within the Chinese community in New Zealand. According to my previous discussions, this finding supports a growing body of current research that reveals the internet does provide the diaspora with various resources needed for adaptation and could serve as an agent of resocialization and acculturation as well as exploring various aspects of new identity formation (see e.g. Karim, 1998; Melkote and Liu, 2000; Hiller and Franz, 2004; Arnold and Schneider, 2007; Elias and Lemish, 2009).

Discourse model 6 is also modified in this chapter by more examples of the site promoting a pan-Chinese cultural identity and the value Discourse model 7 contains is strengthened by introducing a subsidiary Discourse model 7a, which further emphasizes a Chinese origin among diaspora:

6. Chinese diaspora still have strong ties of duty to China and the Chinese community and thereby responsibilities for being Chinese.



**6. There is an imagined community built on Skykiwi in which Chinese diaspora**

**tend to claim their belongingness, strong ties of duty and sense of pride in China.**

**7. Chinese diaspora appear to have been influenced by culture in China and also attempt to promote such culture on Skykiwi.**

**7a.** Maintaining celebrating traditional culture is an important way of being Chinese for diaspora in New Zealand.

The above Discourse models explicitly emphasize belonging to China and a promotion of a pan-Chinese identity centered on Chinese culture. The new model 7a fits into this idea in an implicit way in that it highlights the influence of celebrating traditional culture to Chinese diaspora in New Zealand.

Besides constantly reinforcing and modifying the Discourse models built in the last chapter, there are also new Discourse models emerging from analysis in this chapter:

**8. Positive and good examples of Chinese diaspora, or “ones like us”, are described with full names or respectable expressions, while for bad ones, or “others”, there is no need to mention full names or show such respect.**

**8a.** Chinese diaspora with bad behaviour will deserve serious consequences.

Similar to the “ideological square” that Richardson (2007: 239) discussed, the new Discourse model 8 and subsidiary model 8a built in this chapter suggest a “prejudicial discourse” that is characterized by positive claims of in-group members and negative descriptions of out-group people. Moreover, they also serve as an explanation of model 5 - it is a fact that Chinese diaspora may have a bad image or lower social status because some individuals have done bad things, and so it is understandable why people are trying to change the situation. While these Discourse models in themselves are of limited relevance to this study in terms of theme, both models 8 and 8a indicate that there is a strong moral overtone to the way “we” are talked about in the texts. Though there is a contradictive view found in a sample article that “bad ones/students” should be still seen as “one of us” and members of the “big overseas Chinese family”

who deserved other members' care and understanding, it allows us to observe negotiation by some individuals about inharmonious and imperfect elements within the community as well as their efforts to maintain the solidarity and unification of the whole community. Hence, it suggests, on other hand, that Chinese diaspora do have a sense of coming together as a community and eliminating the inner differences.

<b>9. The discourse that “the relationship between Chinese diaspora and the majority in the host country could be mutually communicated” is distinctive on Skykiwi.</b>
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Discourse model No. 9 is another new model built in this chapter. Most studies on diaspora and acculturation appear to stress the process of integrating into mainstream culture, while neglecting the influence of diasporic culture on the host society. But the process of acculturation or hybridization is more fluid and may involve a two-way permeation, that is, minority integrated into majority culture as well as majority adapted into minority culture. So I argue that the discourse of mutual integration is available for Chinese diaspora to share as common values within the Skykiwi community.

Drawn from the above analysis, it is found that no matter how Discourse models are associated, reinforced or contradict with each other, some ideas are shared across these models:

- a. Chinese diaspora explicitly claim their belonging to China and maintain Chinese cultural identity.
- b. Chinese people are likely to make sense of host lives from Chinese perspectives or ways of thinking, enabling a way of hybrid formation.
- c. Chinese people may be involved in a partial integration into New Zealand, that is, adapting into some aspects of host life while keep Chineseness in other aspects.

These three ideas may also be understood as similar to the meaning of master models as discussed in the last chapter. More specifically, these ideas serve more as shared values produced in Skykiwi for community members. According to Gee (2005: 84), “Discourse models are shared across a great many different discourses” since “Discourse models are deeply implicated in “politics”<sup>22</sup> where social goods are at stake, embedding assumptions about what is “appropriate”, “typical”, or “normal”. In other words, Discourse models incorporate certain “discourse values” that are shared within groups to which people holding the models belong, or at least, that serve people’s interest (Gee, 2005). So for the Skykiwi online community, the above three ideas are the shared discourse values. However, the articles so far are “one-way discourse” produced by individuals although with larger text materials available for analysis. It has been impossible for us to observe the reaction and interaction from other community members. In the following chapter, however, I will look at the interactive space in Skykiwi - the online forum - so as to see whether these discourse values are also shared by more community members within the larger communication space.

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<sup>22</sup> Here politics refers to anything and any place (talk, texts, media, action, interaction, institutions) where ‘social goods’ are at stake, things such as power, status, or valued knowledge, positions, or possessions. Discourse models are, through and through, political. (Gee, 2005: p. 84)

## **Chapter 7. Forum Analysis**

The above chapter focused on analyzing the discourse of online articles that were mainly originated by a small group of people (e.g. news editors, Skykiwi users, and individual Chinese), but still represented certain discourse values circulated by this website, and thus implied shared forms of Chinese diasporic identity. However, the contents of these articles were initiated “for the group”, aiming to set up a kind of image of Chinese diaspora in New Zealand on the basis of individuals’ personal experiences and perspectives. We may have questions about how larger groups of Chinese diaspora interact through the Skykiwi website; whether the discourse values built so far is shared in this process; and what kind of online community and identity do they construct or negotiate through broader communication? Therefore, in the following chapter, I will look especially at forum discussions initiated “by group” and thereby reflecting online interactions of larger groups of Chinese diaspora. Through the analysis of posted messages in the forum, further evidence has been found to reinforce some Discourse models built in chapters 5 & 6, especially the identity model that Chinese diaspora may involve in a partial integration into New Zealand. Two more subsidiary Discourse models have been built in this chapter to reinforce this master discourse value. Moreover, the analysis reveals that the formation of the Chinese diasporic virtual community is discursive, with both centralizing and fragmenting forces negotiated through communications.

### **7.1 Retrospectives of relevant literature**

The analysis of forum postings is primarily inspired by social theories that emphasize the dual influences of mass media in society, namely, homogenization and diversification (Ito, 1999). The internet, although not a mass medium, can be studied in terms of similar social forces. More specifically, previous studies which investigated diasporic identity formation on the internet “by way of analyzing the

discourse of virtual communities formed by migrants” (Mitra, 1997a; Liu, 1999; Chan, 2005) have found that the online discourse within diaspora is driven by two conflicting forces (Mitra, 1997a). The first is the fragmenting force that enables multiple and diverse viewpoints on the internet and reflects the dynamics and complexity of the online community that “it is more difficult to locate the dominant in the virtual space” (Mitra, 1997a: 73). The second is the centralization force, as argued by Mitra (1997a: 73) that “there are centralizing tendencies through which members of the virtual community use the electronic space to foster a sense of solidarity and cohesion based on their common origins and marginalized identities in the host country”. However, according to Chan (2006: 3), “studies of virtual community formed by Chinese migrants tend to emphasize this centripetal tendency”. For example, as discussed in Chapter 2, Yang Guobin’s (2003) idea of the “rise of a transnational Chinese cultural sphere on the internet” follows this centripetal force.

However, the current analysis is different from the previous studies in two aspects. Firstly, instead of only emphasizing centripetal tendency, this study also looks at some “awkward times” when fragmentations happen in the identity process. This is due to the fact “Chinese identity on the internet is not always homogeneous, but contingent, often multiple and evolving for Chinese communities can deploy a range of strategies to manage their identities” (Wong, 2003: 4). Secondly, instead of discussing the political function of the internet (social mobilization or protest) and national identity construction (imagination of a nation online), this study places cultural perspectives as the core issue. By promoting the process of cultural adaptation, the study explores the way the Chinese online community negotiates dual cultural systems and thereby enables hybrid formation. Previous research on Chinese diasporic communities and identity tend to gloss over multiple and hybrid ways of formation. With the idea that the Chinese online community and identity formation is a negotiated and discursive process, one of the objectives of this study is to find out what socially shared knowledge and values is constructed in this negotiated process.

According to the Discourse models built from the previous analysis, Chinese diaspora tend to present two cultural systems, that is, on the one hand, they stick to their original cultural background and make sense of the world via Chineseness; on the other hand, they value discourse in which good adjustment is expressed. In the following chapter, to further test this point, I will discuss the intersection of interaction, internet and identity in the larger group as well as the characteristics of the Chinese online community. My analysis is under four headings that best categorize what I have found - online community formation, characteristics of the Skykiwi virtual community, awkward moments and hybrid identity.

## **7.2 Online community formation**

Within discussion of the Chinese diasporic identity construction, the question of community forming is a fundamental one. There have been many conflicting points of view on whether communication technologies and CMC are restoring and creating traditional communities online. Despite the fact that many commentators are in doubt about claims made for online communities, we have already seen a great deal of research evidence which reveals that CMC tends to liberate interpersonal relations from the confines of physical locality and thus foster constructions of virtual communities. For instance, Baym (2000) and Papacharissi(2011) have argued that online communication allows the opportunity and possibility for the creation of electronic communities where a set of shared practices help produce conditions similar to those in traditional communities that exist outside of the realm of computers and virtual spaces. Having seen how large numbers of people have begun to establish complex arrangements of long-standing, meaningful social relationships online, Rheingold also has in mind that:

Virtual communities are social aggregations that emerge from the net when enough people carry on those public discussions long enough, with sufficient human feeling, to form webs of



personal relationships.

(2000: xx)

So, according to Rheingold, communities are constructed on the basis of social interaction, people's involvement and their feelings. In other words, people are in community with each other wherever they do things together for long enough and when they feel like they are a community.

At this point, it is worth turning back to key ideas of Benedict Anderson that I discussed in Chapter 2 that the thing we ought to be looking at is the style in which communities are imagined. In his famous frame work, Anderson (1983: 15) states that all communities are imagined communities. Of course it doesn't mean that communities are not "real" or "meaningful". In fact communities are indeed meaningful to people and have powerful influences on people. What Anderson does mean is that "community" is not about numbers or places, it's about activities and feelings. So in his reflections on the origins of nationalism, imagined community is conceptualized as a congeniality of language, ethos and culture shared by a group of people, no matter how geographically disconnected they can be. This is also a shared structural and symbolic definition with an online community in which the internet is able to provide access to more geographically scattered users and bring more options for interaction.

More recent scholars of social life online emphasize its connection to offline life, as social media in particular are usually made up of people who are already friends and the practices there are about people's offline lives. It is not a new virtual culture, as some cyber-cultural theorists have argued. Online community that is socially dissociated is fairly rare, and so noteworthy. However, the Skykiwi website, with the dominant use of Chinese language as the premise of building an online community, provides me the rare opportunity to study one such case where shared activities and feelings become the main issue in considering the way the Chinese diasporic

community is formed through online interaction.

### 7.2.1 Shared social practice and interest

It is found from Skykiwi forums that most discussions are carried out on the basis of shared social practice and an important reason why Chinese diaspora post messages and participate in discussions is because they have engaged in or been very interested in common activities. Such common activities and shared interest through a communication process tends to create a sense of comforting or reassuring togetherness which is described by CMC scholar Lynne Cherny (1999) as the symbolic function of “community”. The following selected discussion topics all refer to different social practices, and by looking at how language is used to construct the different discussions, evidence has been found that it is shared social practice and interest that primarily fosters online community building.

#### *Posting topic 1: ‘Back from the sea with harvest’*

**Sweetcherry** (person who initiated this post): 出海归来收获满满~不同鱼鱼做法~还有新鲜的煎鲍鱼噢~最近几次出海都收获满满的 几次合并一篇一起献上 大家看个够 (地点: Little barrier island )

鲍鱼刚好够尺寸, 准备锅具 生水 下鲍鱼, 下辛辣面, 鲍鱼泡面, 满足了~ (图片) 南岛买的小鲍鱼, 蓝色的壳很好看~ 寄到家时鲍鱼们还是活的。(图片)

Back from sea with harvest - different ways of cooking fish - plus fried paua! We have a good harvest in recent sea trip, followings are the combined pictures. Welcome to seeing (Location: Little barrier island).-Title of posting

The paua just fitted minimum size requirement; prepare cookers, boil water and then cook the paua. Put in the instant noodles with paua, very satisfied (with picture)

These paua were bought from South Island, beautiful blue shell and they were still alive when mailed to us. (With picture)

**Pooooony:** 你上面不是说是南岛买的鲍鱼吗? 我还正纳闷着我老公潜水抓的鲍鱼怎么没这么美的蓝色而且也没这么大。

Did you say you buy paua from South Island? I am curious that paua which my husband caught in diving was not as beautiful as yours, the size were smaller either.

**Miaomeow:** 谢谢 LZ。刚买了鲍鱼还有一些其他的, 期待着他们送来了。

Thank you LZ<sup>23</sup>. I just bought some paua and other things, expecting...

**Wsawsd:**下次黑鲍拿去切薄片爆炒 30 秒,还不错~

Next time you can try to fry black paua pieces with big fire for 30 seconds, that tastes well.

**四季旅行社:** 就在楼主给的网站地址里面买啊, 很多活的海鲜。谢谢分享。

Just shopping back from the address LZ (referring to Sweetcherry) provided, many fresh seafood. Thanks for sharing.

**Pupucheng:**南岛这边, 冬天可以钓的鱼太少了。大上周出海, 又遇上 3 米的大浪。。。只有一些 bluecod 钓, 无聊死了。

There are not too much fish to catch in winter in South Island. I went fishing last Saturday, meeting with 3 meters' wave...only got some blue cod, so disappointed.

The first posting topic was initiated by Sweetcherry who returned from fishing with a harvest and shared her experience and the pictures in the forum. The initial message is a long one which provides much information, including introducing different ways of cooking different fish (such as paua, snapper and pink maomao), providing an address for buying paua in the South Island, and details for fishing in the sea. Among the following replies, four messages are listed here which directly present the fact that the respondents had common social practices with Sweetcherry. However, the ways they are expressing such commonality are different. For example, Pooooony used her husband's fishing experience to communicate with Sweetcherry; Pupucheng wrote about his difficult fishing experience in the South Island; Wsawsd made a suggestion about cooking paua to show he/she is also good at cooking; Miaomeow and 四季旅行社 expressed their thanks to Sweetcherry after they bought paua in the South Island. With different ways of constructing discussion and interacting within the group, these participants tend to establish a sense of commonality about their shared practice - fishing, constructing an image that they are well adjusted to life in the host country. It thus reinforces the Discourse model built in Chapter 6 that the way to achieve the goal of a harmonious life in New Zealand is to understand and appreciate the host country's culture first and thereby actively integrate into the host society.

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<sup>23</sup> LZ is a popular name in Chinese online discussions, referring to the person who begins any posting in the forum, for instance here LZ refers to Sweetcherry.

Since it appears that not many Chinese diaspora in New Zealand have the experience of fishing in the sea, replies with common practice take only a small part of all replied messages. Instead, there is a flurry of posts that are not about the authors' own experiences but are orienting towards Sweetcherry's experience. It may be what scholars have argued as "shared interest that provides the basis for interaction and community formation" (Alstyne and Brynjolfsson, 1996; Dertouzas, 1997; Meyrowitz, 1985). However, it is noteworthy that the main thing going on here is not content, but affirmation and orientation towards the poster. Therefore, it is not so much about how many people talk, but about how they feel they can express a sense of shared values that they know the community will accept as shared values. The participants in this discussion seem to identify themselves as "one of the group" within which they can express shared activities and feelings, and to create a sense of community. Examples of shared social practices and feelings have been found also in discussions in the rest of the postings, and I will further discuss these in the following section.

### *Posting topic 2: Buying life insurance in New Zealand*

**QQ 小熊饼干:** 大家都买 Life Insurance 了吗?

我买了邮局提供的那个健康的保险,但是不知道自己应不应该买人生保险。还有那一大堆的 terms and conditions 我也看不明白。。。想买也不知道买谁家的。

Does anyone buy Life insurance? --Title of this posting

I bought the healthy Insurance offered buy Post Office, but don't know whether I should buy Life Insurance. Besides, there are too many terms and conditions which I don't understand either...really don't know from which company I should buy the insurance.

**Judyzhu81:** 买人寿保险是保障对方。我们家基本是保险都买了。。。保险费那个贵呀!

Buying Life Insurance is to insure your partner. Our families all bought it...the premium is very expensive.

**Siyasiya:** 买了,为了二老,ASB 买的,挺贵。

I bought it, for my parents, from ASB, very expensive.

**帶我一起走:** 我的是 AIA 的。保险买了就是以防万一。。。我爸妈不知道,知道了一定不会签字给我。所以买给别人了。

I bought from AIA. Buying insurance is just for in case... My parents don't know, because if they know, they won't give signature to me. So I bought for others.

**Masterq:** 保值储蓄我買的是 AIA 的,一百多一个月,對我來說真的很貴,每个家庭情况不同,可先征询一下一些專業經紀的意见,就算日后出了事,也可直接找他幫你跟進,如醫療險等.....

My Increasing Savings Insurance was bought from AIA, more than a hundred

dollars each month, really expensive for me. Each family has a different situation. So ask for professional agent's advices first. Even if something happens in the future, you may ask him for helping you follow up the procedure, such as Medical Insurance, etc.

瓜子儿: 买了医疗险, 没买寿险。顾不了那么多了。太贵。就那医疗险, 每年保费就涨很多。

I only bought Medical insurance, not Life Insurance. I can't afford both, very expensive. Only that Medical Insurance increases a lot each year.

红衣主教: 前阵子 refinance 的时候顺便买了人寿, 前两个月免费, 还有 discount.

I bought life insurance recently when refinancing, with first two months' free plus discount.

萧萧冷雨夜: 我有买。你的要看个人情况具体情况 (risk 分析)。

I had insurance. You need to consider your personal circumstance (risk analysis).

qzp3900: 都买全了, 但希望不要用到。很矛盾的事实.....

I bought all, but hope I will never use them, very contradictory facts...

### ***Posting 3: KFC new product—"Double Down"***

混口饭: 吃过 KFC 的 DOUBLEDOWN 的同学大家觉得怎么样???

在奥克兰和惠灵顿炒的沸沸扬扬的 KFC 新品也终于来到了基督城, 去吃了一下, 就是两块大鸡肉中间夹块 Cheese 和 Bacon, 味道是还可以。但个人觉得味道应该还没至于好到需要像惠灵顿那样要排很长队才能买到吧。

To the friends who had 'Double Down' of KFC, what do you think of it? --Title

The popular new product of KFC in Auckland and Wellington finally arrived in Christchurch. I went and tried. It is just two big pieces of chicken added with cheese and bacon between it. The taste is ok. But my personal view is it is not that good for people in Wellington to take a long queue to buy.

张太太: 因为好奇, 周五和老公去吃了, 没有想象中的那么油腻, 炸得很干, Size 也不大, 总的感觉就是, 尝过了, 不会再吃第二次~~~~~

Because of curiosity, I tried it with my husband last Friday. It was not that fat as I imagined. Fried very dryly and the size is not big. The overall feeling is I tried it and won't have it for second time~~~~

Triangle...: 吃两口就吃不下了。。很肉, 很饱。。也很爽。。瓦咔咔。。

It is too big for me... too much meat... very full... and tastes very good...Wakaka (song from South Africa football world cup)...

1177xy: 今天小尝了一下, 太太太咸了, 不是很好吃。但是很撑直道晚饭还吃不下, 有一次不会 2 次的经验, 还是喜欢吃辣鸡刺哈哈

I tried it today, too too too salty, not very good. But the size is big enough that I even can't eat supper. One time is enough and I still prefer spicy chicken wings.

Lastday: 吃过了 double down, 都好长时间 promotion, 感觉就是有点太咸了

I had double down. It has been a long time of promotion. Just feel a little bit salty.

### ***Posting 5: Chinese butcher's in church corner***

**狂野的水墨:**我来批评一下 Church Corner LH 肉店，老板请进。

半月前去买过一次鸡翅，回家发现鸡毛没拔干净，自己清干净，就当你们失误了吧。一周前，同样是鸡翅，又没拔干净！好吧，个别情况。今天，朋友去买五花肉，回家一看，猪毛这个多啊～并放言，再去 LH 了。好吧，我乐观的把这些都定性为偶然事件，但一再二不能再三再四，偶然中是有必然的。LH 自从诞生我就因为它的干净放心而持续的支持购买，但如今，寒心了。请把毛除的干净点。

I want to criticize LH (Chinese butcher shop) at Church Corner; come in please, boss... (Title)

I went there to buy the chicken wings and found it not shaved cleanly. I had to do it myself. I considered it as a miss. One week ago, the same chicken wings, unshaved again! Well, let's see it as special occasion. Today my friend went to buy pork and found so much hair when back home, and decided not to go to LH anymore. Well, I first thought those as occasional situations, but they happened again and again. Then they are not occasional, but definite. I have kept shopping in LH since it opened, just due to its cleanness. But now, feel very disappointed! Please pluck the fowl.

**冲冲虫虫:**他家还行了吧！老板挺客气，服务不错，猪毛都是用火烧的吧！

LH is quite good. The boss is nice and the service is good. All the pork hair was cleaned up by fire!

**精灵与幽灵:**鸡翅没买过，上次买的那块五花肉挺好的。因为老公爱吃烧肉所以总买整块儿的五花肉。我觉得 LH 买的那块儿算是最干净的了，洋人肉店不是超市啊，回家还要自己弄很久，上次在 LH 买的几乎没有，可能是我运气好！

I haven't bought the chicken wings, but the pork was very good last time. My husband likes to eat pork very much, so I bought a big piece. I think LH is the cleanest of all. I had to clean myself if I bought meat from kiwi's shop. Last time there were nothing left on the meat in LH, maybe I was just very lucky.

**recoco0910:**一直去 LH 买肉的。。有毛是正常的，回来自己处理下不就好了，哪买的五花肉没毛啊？。。。那边的肉一直很新鲜，而且员工态度也不错啊。。支持下。。

I always went to LH...it is natural to have feathers; it will be ok if you can deal with it at home; where else can you buy meat without any hair??? LH's meat is always very fresh and the staffs' attitudes are very good as well...supporting...

The above three discussions concentrate on separate social practices. Posting 2 was selected from sub-forum “working fellows in NZ”. It seems that buying different kinds of insurance has become a popular topic and common activity for Chinese diaspora who have already settled down in the host country with a stable job. It can be seen from the discussions that the majority of respondents had already bought different kinds of insurance though for different reasons. Obviously, “buying insurance activity” becomes the basis for carrying out this online discussion. But it can be noted here also that some posts are about giving others advice. So the way the

community works on Skykiwi is not just togetherness but sharing knowledge/helping each other. That means people fill different roles within this talk, some as helpers, others as seeking help, some as more experienced, some as new to New Zealand etc.

Posting 3 is about tasting KFC's new product "Double Down". Many people reply to this posting and share their experience of the food. The whole discussion is built through the participants' opinions on the flavor of "Double Down". Thus, the virtual community is formed on the basis of common activities of "tasting KFC Double Down" and also the shared values that can be expressed around this object of discussion. Again, it is the shared ideas/ways of thinking that are important (I will talk more about this shared value shortly). It also reinforces the Discourse models from Chapter 6 that Chinese diaspora tend to stick closely to Chinese culture and make sense of lives in New Zealand from Chinese perspectives.

The last posting was initiated by a Chinese person who expressed criticism of a Chinese butcher's. Due to an alleged unpleasant purchase in LH butcher's, '狂野的水墨' hoped the boss of LH could see this claim and improve the service. Although following replies turn out to disagree with his claim and even criticize his requirement on LH butcher's (shave the chicken wings cleanly) as being unreasonable, the whole discussion depends on common social practice - purchasing in LH. Other participants used different discourse to support LH according to their own purchase experiences, for instance, meat from LH is much cleaner and fresher compared with other shops; LH has good service; and it is unnecessary to complain about the feathers as the situation is quite natural. The posting 4 "Love New Zealand too much and never want to leave" is a posting about expressing personal emotions towards New Zealand. The discussion doesn't seem to refer to any concrete social activity, but is set within the common background - life experiences of Chinese diaspora in New Zealand. Despite most participants expressing personal emotions and opinions which are generated from their lives in the host country, significant evidence of commonality and fellowship can be found.. I will talk about this discussion topic later in the next

category of this chapter.

Seen from the above examples, the common experience in daily life is the base for online group discussions in Skykiwi and the online community is gradually formed due to shared values. More importantly, the coherent affirmation and orientation towards the posters reinforce the centralizing tendencies argued by Mitra (1997a). The way this online interaction is working so far is similar to other diasporic communication. Thus, the sense of commonality and fellowship has been generated from the discussions, which could be explained by Anderson's description of "imagined community" in which the question is raised "why is this man doing what I am doing, uttering the same words that I am uttering, even though we can't talk to one another?" (1983: 55). This sense-making seems to become the vital motivation for Chinese diaspora to actively engage in such group communication and thereby foster online community construction. Moreover, the diasporic community gathered together here is different to pre-internet communities, as people are scattered across the country and perhaps wider. So as I discussed previously - unlike physically-based virtual communities often built on existing community structures (such as common workplaces, schools or departments and so forth), the Skykiwi online community is not only based on shared practices and interests, but most importantly built on shared values.

### 7.2.2 Shared values

If the above examples show that shared social activity is the primary factor in constructing an online community, then I would argue that common interest alone is insufficient to build and sustain a strong sense of community, and so that the shared values, especially the shared knowledge of Chinese culture and shared sense-making of the world, are fundamental in drawing people together in fellowship and commonality. Having common origins and new identities in a host country, it is easier



for Chinese diaspora to interact in Skykiwi and foster a sense of solidarity and cohesion within community. Such resonance is achieved in the ways of expressing shared views and values in the forum discussions.

### Posting 1

田心草茵：羡慕啊。。。。。。 海鲜大餐

Admiring..... big meal with seafood

Butter 鞋屋：好厉害啊看着都流口水了

So great, I can't help drooling when looking

Ching\_ada: 好羡慕啊~~~~~

Admiring...

炫儿妈妈：真不错，好羡慕呀

Very good, feel so admiring

**4exy:**好有口福...

So lucky to eat it

小甜饼 abby: 看的口水中。。。。。。。。。。。。。。。。。。。。

Drizzling after looking...

hzh5543275hzh:厉害呀。、、、

You are so cool...

^0^:受不料了,,,口水流了一地啊啊啊啊

I can't stand drooling any more, hahaha

**samsung2006:** 神仙般的日子!

Life as fairyland!

天天天蓝：哇，太赞了。。。

Woo, it is so cool....

**候鸟心情:**好像吃哦。。。。。。。。。

Really want to eat....

土地公公:打开这个网页后,我后悔了。。还没吃饭呢。口水都出来了。。

I regretted as soon as I opened this webpage... I haven't had meal yet, but already drooling out.

chenyu324: 流口水了。。。。

Drooling...

Crystal 乔: 很好很强大, LZ 非常会煮

So great and you are very good at cooking.

纽莱环宇物流：口水。。。。。。。。。。。

Drooling...

**cissyC:** 好有口福啊。。。。咱们只能享眼福

So lucky to eat it...I only got luck to watch it

维小宝：生活好好哦~~~

What a wonderful life you have ~~~

**Pear:**好吃啊。。。。。。。。。

Looks delicious...

bblov: 看起來真不錯啊 ~~~~~

Looks really good...

鸳鸯相抱何时了: 这生活, 太向往了啊~~~~

Such kind of life, my dream as well ~~~

肉骨壮壮: 好好吃啊看着, 我疯了!

Looks very delicious, I am going crazy!

逆时针走: 好想放假,。。 好想出海

Expecting holiday...expecting to go fishing

碌碌的小马甲: 鲍鱼不错~~~

Nice paua ~~~

心星泡泡: “好想吃哦”(wangjing127 发表于 2011-4-18 18:33)

和你一样。。

“Really want to eat” (wangjing127 sent message at 18:33, 18/04/2011)

--Same with you...

Tradeus: 好想吃哦, 好想吃哦, 好想吃哦

Want to eat badly, want to eat badly, and want to eat badly

Yunaduo: 口水。。。。。。

Drooling...

Doublejo: 天啊, 好羡慕这样的生活啊!!

Oh, goodness, so admiring such wonderful life!!

黑暗天使: 看的口水都下来啦, 哈哈, 好羡慕

Watch till drooling, haha, admiring so much

Beck@: nice~~~~~羡慕

Nice....admiring

丹里: 过瘾过瘾, 谢谢分享。哈喇子已经把前襟湿透了。

Very enjoyable, thanks for sharing. Clothes are wetted by my mouth water.

Lookdi: 帅啊.....

Cool...

豹豹: 看着都流口水, 羡慕, 晚上想吃水煮鱼了

Become drooling by just watching, admiring, decide to eat boil fish tonight.

Baby\_Vicky: 喜欢那些鱼啊 看着图片就闻到鲜味了~

I love those fish, I can smell the fresh flavor by just looking at the picture~

Posting 1 is a distinctive discussion carried on the web in which we could clearly feel a strong sense of cohesion in participants' views. The repeated key words such as “admire”, “cool” and “drooling” reflected people's appreciation of Sweetcherry's activity. This might not be a common phenomenon compared to other online discussion groups or communities outside Chinese diasporic ones. It is due to shared Chinese culture that people are likely to make sense of something in a similar way. More significantly, they are acting out that shared culture. That is, there is value for

them in being Chinese in New Zealand together. There are two important points here. First, seafood, like paua, are very popular and expensive in China and most people have the chance to eat them only at restaurants, without the opportunity of fishing in the sea by oneself. Moreover, Chinese people also regard cooking and eating as very important parts of their lives and there is, a famous old saying in China - “Bread is the staff of life(民以食为天)”. All this explains why participants are so interested in the topic. Second, the expressions “what a wonderful life” or “life as fairyland” are representative of a Chinese way of sense-making. Similarly with “blue sky and white clouds” in the first analysis, having a boat and fishing in the sea freely is exactly the dream life style - returning to nature - advocated by poets and writers since ancient times. This dreaming is a shared assumption for most Chinese, motivating their positive affiliation with the comment. Third, the above reply messages all come from people who haven’t had fishing experience before, in other words, Sweetcherry is better in this aspect than others. This is the reason other members all show attitudes of appreciation and praise for her. It is related to Confucius thinking that “two heads are always better than one”<sup>24</sup>(三人行必有我师), which tells people to learn from other’s merits with humble manners. Therefore, expression of common feelings based on Chinese origin and culture seems to become a significant phenomenon in Skykiwi discussion groups, drawing people in with a sense of shared values. However, such a flurry of posts with admiring expressions is also an instance of “conversion thinking”. The repeated discourse of admiration reminds me to think conversely - the phenomenon here with united and coherent attitudes may be due to the fact that many Chinese diaspora are lacking in relevant information or social activities, or even lack ways to adapt into New Zealand life. From this point of view, the way the community works on Skykiwi is not just with common interests but shared knowledge of Chinese culture and orientation towards New Zealand life. So the discussion is performing together in the safety of Skykiwi talk what they individually would find hard to do in

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<sup>24</sup>“三人行必有我师”is a famous saying from Confucius, which means that when walking in the company of two other men, there must be one I can learn something from. “So I shall pick out his merits to follow and his shortcomings for reference to overcome”.

talk elsewhere in New Zealand.

## Posting 2:

**Siyasiya:** 买了，为了二老，ASB 买的，挺贵。

I bought it, for my parents, from ASB, very expensive.

**Masterq:**‘看来为了我儿子，应该买啊，将来我死的时候，他六亲没有的靠谁去啊，有了一笔钱就好多了。不过，人寿险和医疗险应该先买哪个呢？一起买好贵。’(Gretali 发表于 2011-3-20 10:00 )

如果为了儿子，可以给他买保值储蓄险，可以取回的。人寿险可买夫妻双方，各自成为受益人，而医疗险可以整个家庭一张单，优惠很多。

Well, it seems that I should buy insurance for my son. If not, he has to live on his own after I die in the future. So life will be better if he has a certain amount of money. But for Life Insurance and Medical Insurance, which one should I buy first? It will be too expensive to buy both together. (Gretali posted at 10:00 20/03/2011)

--If only for your son, you can buy Increasing Saving Insurance which can be taken back. Life Insurance could be bought for both husband and wife, making each other becoming the beneficiary. For Medical Insurance, you only need to buy single one for the whole family, with many offers.

**Gretali:** 你这么一说就清楚多了，对于保险我脑袋里是一团浆糊一样，家里只买了车和房屋财产险，一直想要为儿子长大以后多做些准备，你说的保值储蓄是新概念啊，看来我要 research 一下了，谢谢。

To Masterq, I am clearer now after seeing your suggestion. The insurance thing is really a mess in my head. I only bought car and property insurance now and always think of preparing something for my son when he grows up. What you said about increasing savings insurance is a new concept. It looks I need to take a research now, thank you.

**Gretali:** 这样看来专科险很实用，因为看专科医生很贵的啊。但听人说癌症和重大疾病险也很要紧，因为毕竟儿子也是小小少年了，夫妻双方在这个年龄段应该做些准备啊。这么多险种真是有点焦头烂额啊，我们的工资不很高。

It looks that specialist insurance is very useful, because it is too expensive to see a specialist doctor. But I heard that cancer and critical illness insurance is also very important. After all our son is a teenager already, so my husband and I need to make some preparation at this age. It is really a mess looking at so many insurance categories. Our income is not much.

**Ojiji\_tony:** 现在我和老婆目前只有医疗保险，其他的还没有买，但是过几年后有了小孩了就会考虑买人寿保险和重大疾病险了，没办法，在这个看什么医生都超级贵的破纽西兰有时候有些东西还是必需的啊.....

Now my wife and I only had medical insurance and didn't buy others. But we will need to consider buying life insurance and critical illness insurance when we have child several years later. We have no other ways, insurance is very necessary in this poor country where the medical cost is very expensive...

**Gretali:** Ojiji-tony, 真是啊, 超级贵, 贵得离谱的破地方, 让人挣扎的地方。只有优美的风景才让我高兴一点。

To Ojiji-tony: yes, it is super expensive. This is a place where it is expensive for no reason; and where people have to struggle; only the beautiful scene makes me happy.

**保险服务:**“买一份储蓄的人寿保险, 我们都是独生子女, 给父母一个保险吧。”(Dj223 发表于 2011-5-31 15:08)

说得是呀....万一不幸自己先走了, 留下年迈又失去子(女)的父母, 情何以堪啊...?

“We should buy a saving life insurance as we are the only child in our families. So what not give our parents a guarantee?” (Dj223 posted at 15:08 31/05/2011)

Yes you are right...just in case that you are gone first, leaving your elderly parents alone. What a miserable situation for them...?

We have already seen from the previous analysis that many Chinese diaspora who have jobs in New Zealand will choose to buy different kinds of insurance according to personal circumstances. However, the above postings reflect their common motivations for buying insurance - for their parents or for children. So the shared point of view on buying insurance isn't explaining Chinese culture, but rather explaining how the discussion here references Chinese cultural knowledge; that they don't have to explain any of this to each other. In China, it is a widely accepted ritual culture for parents to make financial preparations for their children before they get married (especially for the sons) to ensure their basic living conditions after marriage; so vice versa, it is natural that the children will usually pick up their parents to live together when parents are getting old, in order to take full care of them. This might be a different cultural practice from the western world's that most Chinese parents are willing to fully financially support their children until they get married and even try their best to provide as much as they can to ensure basic living conditions for the future lives of their children after marriage (for instance, buying a house for their children or giving a certain amount of money). It is especially the case for sons, as it is the Chinese tradition that men should take the main financial responsibility when they get married, such as buying the house, furniture and car. At these times, parents will of course make more sacrifices in financial preparations for their sons. This could be concluded by two popular sayings in China that “all parents are living for their

children in their whole lives” and “parents will depend on their sons when getting old”. Thus, buying insurance seems a good way to make such financial preparation for children and parents. It is the reason Gretali put her son in the first place, instead of self, when considering the insurance. This point of view is understood and accepted by other discussion participants without it needing to be stated, such as Ojiji\_tony who has a similar idea to Gretali, Masterq who kindly gives some suggestions according to her personal circumstances, and Siyasiya and Dj223 who buy insurance for their parents. So it is shared orientation towards Chinese culture that helps to create a sense of community.

What is interesting here is that Dj223 wrote “we are the only child in our families”, which, by using the words “we” and “our”, presents the shared group identity as Chinese after the 80s generation<sup>25</sup>. It should also be noticed here that Ojiji\_tony described New Zealand as “this poor country”, which implies a sense that he doesn’t belong to this country. Moreover, Gretali’s agreement with Ojiji\_tony further proves that although they seem to have settled down in New Zealand with a job and family, and are satisfied with the living environment in the host country, they make sense of practical financial matters here in terms of expectations from “home”. They are projecting a version of themselves that’s not fully integrated, but orients to an outsider position that others in the discussion space share. So the collective identity being formulated by these posters on this topic might be different and more sophisticated compared to other diasporic groups. It also provides further evidence of the master Discourse model 2 rebuilt in the last chapter by introducing a subsidiary Discourse model that some Chinese diaspora may be well adjusted to New Zealand life, however, they still feel a sense of strong belonging to China/the Chinese community, and so in other words, it is a case of partial belonging.

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A one child policy has been carried out gradually since the 1980s, so the “only child of family” usually is the generation after 1980.

As I said in the last chapter, this finding is similar to what Melkote and Liu (2000) called “pluralistic integration”, that is, a behavioral integration into a host society while Chinese values remained. In conclusion, the analysis shows that on the basis of Chinese culture and values, it is indeed easier for Chinese diaspora to share common knowledge and sense-making to support each other. Furthermore, with a stable life in New Zealand, Chinese diaspora still appear to stick to Chinese culture and values and thus interact with other Chinese diaspora as a community.

### Posting 3

小胖子：太油了啊。。。。。。。。。。。

Too much oil.....

**Supertt:** 很一般呀，不如辣的鸡肉卷饼，就是有黄色辣椒酱的那个

The taste is just ok, not as good as spicy chicken wrap, the one which is added with yellow spicy sauce.

**joyce2003:** 呃.....油的不行.....吃的膩歪歪的. 情愿吃鸡翅的

Well...too much oil.....tastes too fat, I'd rather eat chicken wings.

**1177xy:**今天小尝了一下,太太太咸了,不是很好吃.但是很撑直道晚饭还吃不下,有一次不会 2 次的经验,还是喜欢吃辣鸡刺哈哈

I tried it today, too too too salty, not very good. But the size is big enough that I even can't eat supper. One time is enough and I still prefer spicy chicken wings.

小拖泥：俩人吃一个还差不多。。。cheese 很腻。。。最不喜欢的是鸡胸肉。。。太柴了

It is better for two to eat...Cheese is too fat...I don't like chicken breast most...too dry.

**Statisticalfis:** 还是辣鸡翅好吃多了,吃完 double down 后,喝了一晚茶解腻

The spicy chicken wings are much better. I have to keep drinking tea all night after having double down.

Posting 3 discusses an everyday activity of “tasting new product at KFC” in New Zealand that might not be worth discussing in such depth in other New Zealand communities, and certainly not in this way. Most respondents who don’t like double down think that the food has too much oil and fat that they would rather eat spicy chicken wings. We can find clues in Chinese culture that leads to their consistent views. The participants here are orienting towards a shared sense of taste, in which oily and fatty food are associated with western fast food. Not many Chinese people accept the oily and fatty taste, thus, many replied messages mention repeatedly words like “oil” and “fat”. The people on Skykiwi orient towards each other by expressing

these shared attitudes on fast food because they know the community will accept these as shared values. Moreover, Chinese people prefer food with spicy flavors, and spicy chicken wing is a very popular food in KFC in China<sup>26</sup>. It explains why Chinese people prefer the spicy food of KFC rather than double down. What is interesting here is that Statisticalfis even has to “drink tea all night after having double down”. It is believed in Chinese food culture that tea can decompose fatty food, and so drinking tea is a good method to reduce greasy feelings. From the above analysis, we find that people use common knowledge of Chinese culture to express a sense of shared values in the discussions. The way community is working here is the shared perspective on Chinese food culture, which reinforces the previous Discourse model - Chinese diaspora still stick to the Chinese culture and way of thinking, which tends to help construct common feelings and virtual community.

#### ***Posting 4***

**Skylaughing:** 每个人细细回想一下, 當初第一次來到 kiwi 国有木有樓主所說的某一點相似的感覺, 日後慢慢滴現實了, 看法有了變化。當然, lz 的描述有了誇張, 但偶們也不知道他/她是費了多大勁才來到 kiwi 国。以其個人經歷, 或許就是那樣地想法。想一想 Lz 或許還米有受到種族歧視倒先受到同族網友的.....

還是給樓主流清靜心情自我了解認識吧!!

Please think carefully your first time when you came to New Zealand. Don't you ever have any similar feeling with LZ? It is natural to change the previous ideas with time passing by. Of course LZ's description has a sense of exaggeration. But we didn't know how much effort he made to come to New Zealand. It is probably his true feelings according to his own experience at that time. Just imagine that perhaps LZ first suffered discrimination from our Chinese community on the internet before he suffered discrimination from other ethnicity...

Please leave LZ enough space and peace for self-awareness!

**小当家:** 耐心的看完 LZ 的帖子, 也不知道该说什么, 我想这就是“无语”的解释吧, 想给 LZ 几点建议:

1. 真心地恳求 LZ 不要把这帖子发到国内网站上去, 不然我们在新西兰的华人们都会被你连累  
的!

...

Finishing looking at the story with patient, and don't know what to say to

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<sup>26</sup> KFC adjusted its products greatly when entering the Chinese market so as to cater to local tastes. However, spicy chicken wing is similar in New Zealand's market and has been very popular in China.



LZ. I guess it is the explanation of “wuyu” (silent). Want to give LZ some suggestions:

1. Please don't send this post to domestic websites in China, or our New Zealand Chinese will be hurt because of you.

### ***Posting 5***

**Shot:** 现在做点华人生意可真不容易啊!

Now it is really uneasy for Huaren to do business here~~~

**Lollycake:** 现在谁做个生意都不容易，中国在这里要团结起来。

Now it is not easy to do a business. Chinese people here should unite.

**Shot:** 要支持~~~chch 这些厚道的华人商家~~~~

We should support these nice Chinese business men in Christchurch~`~~

Previous examples of common feelings shared by Chinese net users seemed to prove to be originating from common Chinese culture - thereby becoming the basis of community formation - and so too are postings 4 and 5, which both have explicit expressions of feelings of community belonging. For example, in discussion 4, Skylaughing wrote “just imagine that perhaps LZ first suffered discrimination from our Chinese community on the internet before he suffered discrimination from other ethnicity...”; and 小当家 wrote “...or our New Zealand Chinese will be hurt of you”. Here the phrases of “our Chinese community on the internet” and “our New Zealand Chinese” explicitly express the strong sense of belongingness to Chinese diasporic community in New Zealand. Skylaughing also used the phrase “other ethnicity”, which further marks the boundary between “us” and “others”.

Repliers to posting 5 have shown great support and understanding of local Chinese businessmen. By using phrases like “Huaren”, “Chinese people here” and “Chinese businessmen”, we may have a strong feeling of a community consisting of Chinese diaspora in New Zealand and a call for solidarity within that community for mutual support. Shot also used the word “we” to emphasize the belongingness to the community and even portrays the image of community members as “these nice Chinese businessmen”. These explicit identifications can be seen also as evidence that Chinese diaspora in New Zealand seem to have common feelings as a part of the

online community.

In conclusion, two points emerged from the above analysis. First, an online community is constructed through Skykiwi by way of expressing shared practices, values and feelings in discussions, though it may not be exactly the “traditional” community based on common location, and such online interaction amongst members has been imbued with the belongingness to the community.

The question of whether or not one can find community online is asked largely by those who do not experience it. Committed participants in email, bulletin boards, chat lines and MUD... have no problem in accepting that communities exist online, and that they belong to them.

(Haythornthwaite et al., 1998: 212)

Secondly, previous studies on Chinese diasporic communities have found that the imagination of the nation on the internet tends to be driven by a centralizing tendency. Instead of the imagination of national identity, however, I argue that there appears a centralizing tendency of reinforcing cultural identity among the Chinese virtual community on Skykiwi. This centralized cultural identity is presented through the discourse of shared ritual views in the discussions.

### **7.3 Characteristics of the Skykiwi virtual community**

After analyzing the way of virtual community forming, the next question immediately in mind might be “what kind of community is formed through Skykiwi?” Due to the Skykiwi website’s unique characteristics, such as its huge membership, physically scattered users, virtual community building and intra community communication, the website might be valuable in the Chinese diaspora’s adaptation to the host country and in their search for a new identity while maintaining the original one. Thus in the following section, I focus on three possible features of the Skykiwi online community

in terms of seeking information for adaptation, social empowerment and mutual support.

### 7.3.1 Exchanging information about the new society

The first and vital stage to relocation into a new society is the need to learn the local rules, such as norms of behavior, lifestyle, cultures and so forth (Elias and Lemish, 2009). A previous Discourse model built in chapter 6 points out that “the way to achieve the goal of a harmonious life in New Zealand is to understand and appreciate the host country’s culture first and thereby actively integrate into the host society”. From this point of view, the findings suggest that the interaction within the Skykiwi online community provides a source of information about the new society and participants use the website to seek or exchange information for their cultural and social adaptation. For example, Sweetcherry (posting 1) explained New Zealand laws about selling fish and going fishing in discussing her fishing experience with other community members.

#### *Posting 1*

**Sweetcherry:** ‘牛人!!!以後吊的多.....賣我兩條不???’ (DogDots 发表于 2011-4-18 15:19 )

NZ 法律规定自钓渔获不让卖

--Great guy, what about selling fish to me when you get harvest next time (DogDots posted at 15:19 18/04/2011)

--it is illegal to sell fish which were caught by private people.

**Sweetcherry:**‘你上面不是说是南岛买的鲍鱼吗? 我还正纳闷着我老公潜水抓的鲍鱼怎么没这么美的蓝色而且也没这么大。’(Pooooony 发表于 2011-4-18 15:30 )

你 LG 抓的估计都不合法, 潜水抓, 鲍鱼不能小于 12.5 厘米。我买的是小鲍鱼。抓的是大鲍鱼。

Did you say you buy paua from South Island? I am curious that paua which my husband caught in diving was not as beautiful as yours, the size were smaller either. (Pooooony posted at 15:30 18/04/2011)

--The paua your husband got might not be legal. If catching paua by diving, the size mustn’t small than 12.5cm. What I bought are small paua, however, what I caught from sea are big paua.

**Sweetcherry:** 呵呵, 他抓得连 8cm 都不到。不过他们从来不带上岸的, 如果被抓了就惨了。所以我纠结啊, 你能否给我个方位, 你们在哪抓的那么大的鲍鱼? ? (Pooooony 发表于 2011-4-21 14:34)

我这个也是带壳刚刚好 12.5 厘米, 很勉强的, 煮完又缩水了, 拍照角度也有点问题。大小鸡岛 channel

island 比较大, 呵呵

Hehe, yes, the paua they caught were even less than 8cm. But they never brought them back, because it would be really bad if they are caught by police. So I am very anxious, and please suggest a location - where did you catch so big paua? (Pooooony posted at 14:34 21/04/2011)

---My paua were just reaching the size of 12.5cm. They might be shrunk a little bit after cooked, and maybe there is also problem in shooting angle. There are many bigger paua in Channel Island.

m.g8: <http://www.oceanzblue.co.nz/nzproducts.aspx> 这家是在奥克兰附近的, 一般都是第二天送货。个人觉得不错。。

<http://www.oceanzblue.co.nz/nzproducts.aspx>. This shop is near Auckland, usually delivered in the second day, my personal recommended ...

Sweetcherry: 好羡慕 也想出海, 可是不知道怎样做 可以介绍一下出海钓鱼的经验吗? 比如怎么租船, 怎样潜水..... 谢谢 (梦阳发表于 2011-5-17 13:39)

是自家的船, 潜水可以先去上个潜水课。

So admiring, I want to go fishing as well, but don't know how. Can you share your fishing experience, for example, how to rent boat, how to dive...thanks (梦阳 posted at 13:39 17/05/2011)

---The boat is mine, but you can take diving lessons first.

With many instances of catching fish, Sweetcherry seems to be well adjusted to one realm of social life in the host country. After many questions from other participants, she introduced much valued information for those in their ongoing process of experiencing such a lifestyle. Moreover, Pooooony who doesn't have much fishing experience is also aware of the local laws. This example indicates that on the one hand, Sweetcherry is willing to help other community members adapt to the host society; and on the other hand, the new settlers/comers seem to be very cautious in learning new social norms. Of course this posting is just one such example, but I assert that this kind of interaction is distinctive in Skykiwi.

## Posting 2

QQ 小熊饼干: Does anyone buy Life insurance? --Title of this posting

I bought the healthy Insurance offered buy Post Office, but don't know whether I should buy Life Insurance. Besides, there are too many terms and conditions which I don't understand either...really don't know from which company I should buy the insurance.

萨米: 从领事馆对我们的提醒, 中国是靠儿养老, 不得不买。。。。。。

Form the reminder of Chinese Consulate, the situation in China is that we can completely depend on our children to take care of us when we are getting old.

But since we are here, you have to buy insurance for yourself...

**Masterq:** “请问 AIA 是在报纸上登广告的华人公司吗？”（我是说有好多华人经纪的那家公司）。您找的是华人经纪吗？您感觉他们办事有效率讲信用否？谢谢。（Gretali 发表于 2011-3-20 12:06）

这个华人经纪是我朋友的朋友，信用還可以啦，我的医疗保险是買專科和入院的(不包家庭医生)，自己先付錢，之后填份表，錢很快就到帳上了。買保險一定要看家庭情况和个人承受能力...

‘Is AIA the Huaren Company which has advertisement on newspaper? (I mean is it the company with a lot of Chinese agents) Did you look for Huaren agent? Do you think they are reliable and work efficiently? Thank you.’(Gretali posted at 12:06 20/03/2011)

--The Huaren agent is a friend of my friend, very reliable. My Medical Insurance was bought for specialist and staying in hospital (not including family doctor). I paid first and then filled in a form. The money went to the account very soon. Insurance depends on family circumstances and personal capacity. ..

**保险服务:** 给兄弟姐妹们一个买保险的基本原则:

1. 保费开支: 占家庭总收入的 5~10%
2. 保障顺序: 先大人, 后孩子; 先主要收入人, 后其他家庭成员
3. 险种顺序: 先人寿, 后健康 (医疗、大病、伤残), 再收入保护.
4. 险种类型: 先保障型, 再储蓄型 (小孩子除外), 最后投资型

其实, 组合得好的保单并不一定很贵, 主要是要把细节处理好

To brothers and sisters, some basic principle for buying insurance:

1. Premium cost: taking up 5%-10% of total family income
2. Protection order: first for adults, then for children; first for major income person, then for other family members
3. Insurance order: first life insurance, then health insurance (medical, illness, disability), and then income protection.
4. Insurance types: first protection-type, then savings-type (excluding children), and finally investment-type

In fact, if you make a good combination, the premium won't be that expensive. The most important thing is to deal with details.

**Masterq:** 因为人不在给了一个家庭带来的经济和感情冲击最大。而且没有别的方式可以替代。医疗虽然用的机会多, 但在 NZ, 好歹还有个公费医疗系统, 不至于完全无处看病。再不济, 咱们华人还可能有机会回国去诊治。（保险服务发表于 2011-3-21 22:28）

雖說 NZ 有公费医疗系统, 但我們平時看病還是看家庭医生多, 不計药費, 每次也要四十元, 如果真是要入院動手術, 私家医生(院)不用排隊等候喔, 說到回國治療, NZ 都治不好, 還指望回國治么? 醫療費也不便宜呀~~

Because losing someone will bring the largest economic and emotional impact to a family and there is no other alternative way. Although there may be more chances of using medical insurance, there is a public health system in NZ here. It is not likely to go nowhere for treatment. Then to the worst, our Huaren still have chance of going back China for treatment. (保險服务 posted at 22:38 21/03/2011)

Although there is a public health system in NZ, we still see family doctor more often when get ill. Except for medicine cost, it still needs 40 dollars

each time. If doing a surgery in hospital, you don't need to wait in the queue in the private hospital. Talking about going back China for treatment, if you can't be cured in NZ, then doesn't expect to be cured in China. The treatment expenses are not cheap, either.

This discussion topic seeks certain information about the host society. 萨米, Masterq, and 保险服务 make suggestions from angles of cultural difference, personal experience and professional services. It supports my assertion made in the last section that Chinese diaspora tend to be very active in helping other community members adapt to their host country by providing relevant information and sharing experiences. Moreover, the above two postings are both related to practical information about everyday life of local Chinese in the host country. It indicates many Chinese diaspora are aware of or can realize their incompetence or unfamiliarity in various aspects of daily life in New Zealand. Hence, they would rather choose to surf the internet and communicate with other Chinese in the community for practical information about the host culture, since it is obviously much easier and more comfortable to communicate in the mother tongue and culture. In this regard, the Skykiwi online community provides Chinese diaspora with a less-pressured linguistic and cultural environment within which they can better orient towards their new home. Furthermore, with many well adapted diaspora participating in the discussion groups, the valuable knowledge for social and cultural integration has been transferred from more experienced to less experienced diaspora within the community.

### 7.3.2 Cultural superiority over local people

Previous findings reveal a Discourse model that Chinese diaspora appear to identify themselves as being different from New Zealanders and place their Chinese origins in a very important position. The findings on discussion forums further testify that there is a tendency to emphasize Chinese cultural superiority over the host country. It is called a kind of “social empowerment” by Elias and Lemish (2009: 540) who found that due to incompetence in the host language and culture, “misunderstanding of local

codes of behavior”, “a sense of psychological insecurity” (such as helplessness and disorientation) may emerge especially in immigrant new settlers/comers, “leading to a deep sense of inferiority towards the local residents, whom they perceived as much more self-confident, successful and powerful”. Thus, along with searching various websites for more information and knowledge about the new society, for instance its social and cultural norms, they also used the internet to “reinforce the original cultural identity” and emphasize their cultural superiority, so as to “gain better status in the new social environment” (2009: 540). The sense of cultural superiority over local people and culture is significant in Skykiwi as Chinese are typically an ethnicity who feel proud of their culture and tradition.

### ***Posting 3***

**混口饭:** 这么看来, 此玩意只适合 Kiwi 口味。

It seems that this thing is only matched with kiwi's taste.

**Andylosay:** 队长本有 twice down。据说是 kfc 的 2 倍大

“Captain Ben” (a Chinese fast food restaurant) sold twice down before, it is heard that the size is two times as big as KFC's.

**混口饭:** 综上所述, KIWI 口味, 鉴定完毕!

In conclusion, it is kiwi's taste, identification is over!

**zsy0129:** 当时 BK 出 4 层肉汉堡的时候 哇塞买的人那叫一个多~~我发现老外就喜欢挑战极限。。。当时还有好多老外要 5 片肉加 4 片 cheese, 不要 burger bun 的那叫一个牛 X ..后来那老外买回去以后 我注意了一下他使劲压那个肉 然后一口直接咬了 ..那场景 简直和好几天没吃饭的狼一样 顿时我就呆了。。。

When Burger King began to sell four-layer-meat burgers, even more people ran to buy it - I found local people prefer to challenge the limitation... At that time some kiwi even asked for five-layer-meat burgers plus four pieces of cheese. Once after a New Zealander bought the burger, I noticed he pressed the meat very hard and then ate it directly... That scene is almost like a wolf that hasn't eaten food for several days. I got frozen right away...

**混口饭:** 看来老外就是喜欢油的, 还总说我们中国菜油。

It looks like that kiwi still prefer the food with much oil, but why do they always say our Chinese food has too much oil.

**Sea-crystal:** 垃圾啊垃圾

Rubbish food - rubbish food

According to 混口饭, local people always think Chinese food has too much oil, which seems to be an offensive reaction to Chinese culture. Thus, in response, 混口饭 wrote

in an ironic way which argued that oily food only met with local people's taste. From Zsy0129's description of how a Kiwi ate a big hamburger, we sense a despising attitude from him/her about local people eating too much and liking fatty food. Seen from these examples, participants tend to have a sense of resisting local assimilative forces in food culture by looking down on local people's tastes. Andylosay mentioned a Chinese takeaway restaurant which used to sell the same product with an even bigger size. This comparison appears to convey a sense of superiority about the Chinese restaurant since it had already sold KFC's new product before. The use of comparison to emphasize the superiority of Chinese culture is even more obvious in the following examples.

#### **Posting 4**

**Jiangya:** 我只想说,我再也呆不下去了。。毕业后果断回国。。神马都不要了

I only want to say that I can't stay here any longer...I want to go back home as soon as I graduate. Don't want anything else.

**Adagio:** 这篇帖子好欢乐啊,纠正两点

1) “为了扩大利益 牛奶宁可倒了 也不给穷人喝”,岁数大点小时候都学过这个,不过貌似是说美帝英帝,新西兰算个啥,还轮不到呢

2) “悠久的历史”,新西兰有个P历史,尤其是跟中国比的话

This post seems to be a happy story. But two mistakes should be pointed out.

1) ‘In order to increase benefit, the landlords would rather throw away the milk than giving them to poor people.’ Most of us did learn this lesson in younger ages, but I remembered it referred to US and UK, New Zealand counts for nothing, not even ranked.

2) ‘Long history of New Zealand’ New Zealand doesn't have a long history, especially compared with China.

**Accommodation:** 我是这里呆久了,回不去了。跟不上时代了 (小猪姚姚 发表于 2011-5-27 20:33)

同感.....‘My situation is I couldn't go back China because I have stayed in New Zealand for too long time. I am behind the times in China.’ (小猪姚姚 posted at 20:30 27/05/2011)

--Exactly the same feeling...

~晓 Can~:我第一次知道新西兰这鸟地方的时候,是出国前的几个月 =。=

我一直觉得我是被我妈扔过来的

The first time I heard of New Zealand is just several months before I came here. I always think I was thrown to this poor country by my Mum.

**戒指:** 呆不下去呆不下去了 毕业了 就和 BF 闪人了...养老再回来吧

Can't stay here any longer; can't stay here any longer. I will goback China with my boy friend after graduation... Maybe come back NZ when we retire



in the future...

Many respondents, such as Jiangya, Accommodation, 小猪姚姚 and 戒指, expressed the idea that they couldn't stay here any longer and had decided to go back China. No matter what the reason is, it seems to express a feeling that China is better than New Zealand and so they choose to go back. ~晓 Can~ even used the words "throw" and "poor" to complain that New Zealand is obviously inferior to China. Adagio made two levels of comparison here; first he placed the United States and United Kingdom above New Zealand referring to powerful capitalist countries of the past; second, he wrote about China's long history to emphasize the superiority over New Zealand in this aspect. This example signals some Chinese diaspora's strong resistance to New Zealand identity and their loyalty to the motherland, which proves the idea that although Chinese diaspora are integrated into some realms of the host culture, they tend to use the internet to maintain their original identity and belongingness to China. What strikes me here is that no one speaks up for living here - longing for home is a strong discourse that it's not appropriate within this community to reject. It is not because people are being sympathetic to the homesick, or because there's a strong sense in Skykiwi of not belonging. Therefore, what does it mean for these comments to go unchallenged by people wanting to integrate more? It is difficult to answer this question, but one thing for sure is that the sense of strong longing for home emerges from the comparisons with the host country. There is an absence of this kind of talk in the articles; it is only in the discussions. I assume that this is because articles and discussions are different kinds of talk, one emphasizing maybe what should be happening, and one more closely linked to people's actual experience.

The following posting discusses a Chinese individual's criticisms of unshaved meat from LH butcher's in Christchurch, however, many respondents used local supermarkets as compared objects to make the point that Chinese shops are much better in cleanliness and freshness.

### ***Posting 5***

**Komita:** 洋人超市也不除毛~~~中国肉店算好一点的了。以前去洋人店买, 每次回来都要自己拔半天。

The foreigner's supermarket doesn't shave, either - Chinese butcher's is much better. It took me much effort to pluck it at home when I bought it from foreigner's shop in the past.

**姚小盒:** 我也是觉得 PNS 和 CD 神马的都有毛。立恒只要肉新鲜。就够了。

I also think any meat bought from Pakinsave and Count Down all has hair. It is enough for LH to sell fresh meat.

**zsy0129:** 墨哥将就下吧,我去 paknsave 买的鸡翅,上面都是毛。。。。。。都无语了

Bro., don't ask for too much. The chicken wings I bought from Pakinsave were not shaved at all...almost can't say a word.

**attractive\_2004:** LH 的肉还好吧, countdown 猪肉上的毛更多!

The meat from LH is not so bad. Pork from Count Down has much more hair.

The above texts show social empowerment distinctive in Skykiwi discussion groups and such ways of communication and expression seem to declare that “we don't want to be like them”. This resistance to local culture and identities doesn't conflict with previous Discourse models, such as “positive attitude towards their host country” and “active adaptation into New Zealand”, but rather indicate a small Discourse model that the Chinese diaspora is capable of optional integration into the host country. It reinforces the Discourse model of “partial belonging” built previously.

Therefore, here “is evidence of internet use as a central tool in diaspora's social empowerment as well as in their struggle to legitimize their original identity” (Georgiou 2006b; cited by Elias and Lemish, 2009: 541). By emphasizing superiority of Chinese identity over that of New Zealand, the Chinese online community uses the diasporic network to reinforce their belongingness to China so as to balance the power (between diaspora and hosts) and improve their social position in the host country.

### **7.3.3 Mutual support and understanding**

Providing social support and understanding for one another is particularly important for Chinese diaspora who are relatively alone in New Zealand, as they lack support

networks they used to enjoy at home. In this English-speaking land, when they need to solve certain problems, when they want to express opinions, when it is hard to be understood by others, when they must find someone to talk to about inner thoughts, they can go to Skykiwi. For example, after facing criticism from a Chinese client, the staff of LH butchers gave apologies and explanations in order to address the misunderstanding.

### **Posting 5**

**雨打沙滩点点坑:**首先要感谢您对本店提出的宝贵意见。也要向您道个谦,确实,鸡毛和猪毛的问题都有存在。五花肉的话,是会出现皮上面有毛的现象,但是这都是有几率的,有的上面有有的没有,您在购买的时候可以直接叫我们给您挑选没毛的,因为有些客人是不在意猪毛这种东西的。如果真的要求我们去处理这些毛,是要花很多的时间和人力,也请您可虑下我们的工作量,毕竟是小本经营各方面都要压缩成本,在人工上也是如此,我和同事现在忙的时候连中午饭都吃不上,大多数时候就啃几口面包就要出来招呼客人,就这每天还有干不完的活。如果还要我们把肉皮上的毛一根根的拔出来,真的是太难为我们了。鸡翅我们都是跟工厂订购的,拿过来的时候都是处理好的,毛也不是我们拔的,因此也没有注意到鸡毛的情况,不过今天看到您的建议,我以后会注意在装盘前尽量把没拔干净的在拔一拔,当然也可能会有漏掉的,就请您购买时提醒我们一声,我们或是帮您处理或是帮您挑选您满意的。“在也不想去 LH”的话真的很让人有些心寒,因为我觉得我和我的同事在条件允许的情况下对客人都是有求必应的,就更别说我们那个热心肠的老板了。当然有的时候真的因为太忙没能满足一些客人的要求,我想大家也是可以理解的。另外我还要为我个人的服务态度向大家道个谦,其实早就想说但是一直没有机会,有的时候不是不想对大家微笑,是真的累的笑不出来,偶尔可能是自己本身有烦心的事把它带到工作上来了,说话的语气也不是很好,给大家添堵了真对不起。每次我看到客人不高兴的离去,心理确实挺后悔的,今后我会尽量调整好自己的心态,争取对每位顾客都是微笑着。我们也欢迎大家给我们多提宝贵意见,对我们的工作质量多做监督。对于每个意见我们都会认真听取,积极改正,争取为大家提供更好的服务。

我希望这是楼主想要得到的答复。

First I will thank you for your valuable advice on our shop and I owe you an apology. Indeed, there are problems with chicken feathers and pork hair. For the pork, it is natural to have hair left on; some are clean while others may have much hair. It is all right to ask us to select the hairless ones when purchase, because some clients don't mind the feathers or hair. It will take too much time and labor if we do the plucking and shaving work. Please also consider our workload, after all we are a small shop and have to reduce cost as much as we can, especially the labor cost. My colleagues and I often don't have time to eat lunch when it is very busy. We have to take care of the clients right away with a few mouthful of bread. If you still require us of plucking each feather, it is an impossible mission. All the chicken wings are ordered from factory and are already dressed. We don't do the plucking work, so we don't notice the chicken feathers. But today I saw your advice and I will try

best to pluck the feathers before putting into the plates. Of course I can't guarantee they are all hairless. But please remind us when you purchase. We are happy to help you deal with the hair or choose ones which you are satisfied. The words 'don't want to go LH anymore' sound very hurting because my colleagues and I have tried our best to meet the clients' need, let alone our warm-hearted boss. Perhaps sometimes we didn't meet your need as we are too busy. I hope our clients can understand us as well. Besides I want to apology for my personal attitude. I want to say it for a long time but don't have chance. Sometimes it is not because I don't want to smile to the clients but I am just too tired to smile out. Sometimes I may bring the unhappiness mood to my work and the attitude is not right, either. Here I want to say sorry to everyone. I felt regret when I saw clients leave with unhappiness. I will try to adjust my attitude in the future and smile to every client. We also welcome your advices and supervision on our work. We will carefully listen to your advices and provide better services in the future.

I hope this is the reply LZ wanted to get.

**MaxPower: Is** 每次笑的不要太灿烂。

To the upstairs (referring to 雨打沙滩点点坑): You've already smiled very much.

**Pupucheng:** 有了竞争，顾客才会得到更多的实惠。其实无论在价格，服务态度，质量保证这几方面，大家平心而论，LH 比洋人超市，东大门肉店，XQ，甚至国内都好一些吧？一点失误都没有是不可能的，主要就是看这种失误的原因。水墨兄弟提出的意见，绝对是对大家有好处的，也是对 LH 肉店有好处的。

Where there is competition, there is more benefit for clients. Honestly speaking, from the aspects of price, service attitude and quality, LH is better than local kiwi supermarket, Xiaoquan, Wikis and even butcher's in China. It is impossible to be perfect. What is important is to find the problem and correct it.水墨 brother advice is benefit for us, as well as for LH butcher's.

**Pupucheng:** 现在这种声讨的帖子最后都很容易演变成声讨楼主，世道变了。(混口饭发表于 2011-5-25 16:09)

饭老弟，我觉得这样才够公平。大家说出自己的意见，我相信绝大多数人都是发自内心的。以前声讨那些餐馆什么的，大家一直都在骂，那可能是因为很多人的利益都受到了伤害。其实 LH 的人我也认识，但是是通过经常光顾他的店认识的，现在比较熟悉。有的时候我觉得排骨太肥了，老板主动叫人把肥肉切掉一部分，有的时候他们很忙也会主动用电锯给我切割带骨头的肉类。我觉得，我每次去买肉的时候除了购买之外，更看重的是这个店的服务态度，责任心和诚实。

Now such critical posts are always finally changed into posts criticize LZ, the world is changed!!! (混口饭 posted at 16:09 25/05/2011)

Brother 饭, I think this is called fair. Everyone has the right to express their opinions and I believe most of us are telling the truth. Here used to be some critics on restaurants in the past, which might be because many people's benefits were damaged. In fact I know staffs of LH myself, but through my frequent purchases. Sometimes if I think the pork ribs are too fat, the boss will cut off the fat parts for me. Sometimes even if they are busy, they will help me to cut off the meat from the bones. I think except for purchase, the more important point is the staffs' attitudes, responsibilities and honesty.

ivy 陈: 说一件题外话。2月刚地震完当天去 LH 买排骨。交完钱 要走了。店员把肉交到我们手上, 很诚恳的说了句“祝平安”, 当时觉得心里暖暖的。后来就总去 LH 了。

I want to say something out of the discussion. On the day when February's earthquake was over, I went to buy pork rib in LH. When I was just about to leave after paying, the staff put the meat on my hand and said sincerely, "wish you safe!" I felt very warm in heart. From then on I often went to LH.

It looks like a heart to heart reply and explanation from the staff of LH butcher's to LZ, which is also a turning point of the whole discussion as the repliers thereafter all stand at 雨打沙滩点坑's side to support LH. 雨打沙滩点坑's words indeed touched many community members' hearts, thus facilitating their mutual trust and understanding. For instance, Pupucheng believed "most of us are telling the truth", so it is good to express personal views to achieve fairness. Although disagreeing with LZ's ideas, the other members seem to make efforts to reconcile the difference, instead of directly refuting or criticizing anyone. So the members of Skykiwi do regard themselves as a united community and try to keep coherence and solidarity within that community. From this point of view, one characteristic of the Skykiwi online community is that Chinese diaspora tend to use the internet for conflict mediation so as to establish mutual support and understanding within the community.

#### **7.4 Awkward moments**

The previous analysis verified the existence of the Skykiwi online community which is based on common practice and feeling, and discussed the characteristics of the Chinese diasporic online community in terms of seeking information about the new society, cultural superiority over local people and mutual support and understanding. It is also found that interaction within the community facilitates in-group coherence and solidarity. However, not all the interactions go smoothly and harmoniously within the group, and so it is impossible to keep "still and unchanged" in the course of communication within a virtual community. Moments of tension, anger, irritation, anxiety, discomfort or embarrassment also happens amongst Chinese diasporic

interactants. These feelings are called “awkward moments” by Goffman (1986) who argues that the commonality of any awkward moments seems to be the precursor or presence of interaction anxiety that directly or indirectly arises from the stigma. The observation of such awkward moments in social interaction may help better understand the discursive process of identity formation. Hence, the following section looks at examples of awkward moments happening in Skykiwi forum discussion so as to find out possible sources causing or maintaining such moments.

First, there is a need to make a brief explanation of the term “stigma”. According to Crandail, a stigma is a characteristic that makes a person different, and less desirable, than would normally be expected; a stigma can be a deviant behavior, physical characteristic, group membership, or moral failing that serves to disqualify the stigmatized person from full membership in a society, and cuts him or her off from normal social contact (2003: 127). For instance, blindness, being black, facial deformation and obesity are different types of stigma. However, the experience of stigma is common as almost every person has experienced the alienation, rejection, exclusion, or embarrassment that comes from being different, devalued, and demeaned (Crandail, 2003). For instance, Lotte in the following posting is a stigmatized individual whose strong emotions in loving New Zealand and wish to integrate into New Zealand are perceived to be demeaned and thus are disqualifying him from the Chinese diasporic community.

#### ***Posting 4***

**Lotte:** 太爱新西兰了 这辈子都不想离开了。 (Title of the posting)

听说新西兰这个国家貌似是在我读小学的时候。那时候看报纸说新西兰的工人被牧场主剥削，不给他们吃喝，体现资本主义的吃人本质。为了扩大利益，牛奶宁可倒了也不给穷人喝。之后改革开放，我身边很多人都向我推荐新西兰这个国家，说这里是人类的最后一片净土，可能不包括南极和北极。我身边的朋友都陆陆续续出国了，去新西兰的特别多仅次于加拿大。我就一直梦想可以前往这个人间天堂居住。之后我就努力工作努力存钱，希望可以在这里学习工作，拿到绿卡拿到身份，称为新西兰人，呼吸着无比干净纯粹的空气，喝着比国内矿泉水还干净的天然矿物质水。两个月前，我怀着无比兴奋激动崇高的心情登上了前往新西兰的飞机。这是我第一次坐飞机，难免有些紧张和不安。好在身边的同胞都非常友善，帮助我填表格，给我介绍新西兰美好的一切，这里的好山好水好人文以及悠久的历史。我深深被这个谜一般国家吸引住，觉得这时几个小时的

飞行时间 实在太过漫长，好像过了几个世纪一样。在飞机上，飞机餐虽然很好吃，但分量实在小。我得知可以多拿几份，就跟空中服务员多要了两份。他们服务真好，一点都没有不耐烦。看着 窗外的白云，幻想着我朝思暮想的国家 --新西兰，心潮澎湃，久久无法入睡。真怕睡着了，万一飞机降落后我不知道又飞回中国怎么办，我可不想再回去了。终于，我看到 陆地了。那就是新西兰吗？真美。我问旁边的年轻人，他说那是印尼。我又沉默了，为何美好的地方那么远，飞了那么久 还没有到呢？最后的最后，在我徘徊于飞机两头第圈的时候，飞机上终于响起了我并不熟悉的英文。我问了一下 旁边的年轻人，他说飞机即将降落在奥克兰。什么！奥克兰？我没有听错吧，就是那个有着天空之塔的城市吗？！就是那个号称 白云故乡的奥克兰？就是那个全世界最适宜人类居住的奥克兰？就是那个零犯罪率，花花世界的奥克兰吗？我又激动了。一下飞机我就使劲闻了闻周边的空气！真香！和我想象的果然一莫一样，空气中都弥散着一氯奇异果的味道。我看了看四周这就是我后半生要奋斗和生活的地方了。在机场，我看到好多以前从没见过的洋人，这让我很激动。他们的样子都好好看啊！金黄色的头发、大大的眼睛、高挑的身躯。我以后也要跟他们一样，我暗暗的跟自己说！先写到这里吧，越写越激动，停不下来了。PR 我是一定要拿的，这个国家那么好，我这么爱这个国家，他们的领导人也没有理由不给我啊。

I was in the primary school when I heard of the country of New Zealand for the first time. At that time it was said in newspaper that New Zealand workers were exploited by landlords, representing the essence of capitalism. In order to increase benefit, the landlords would rather throw away the milk than giving them to poor people. Then after the year of reforming and opening policy (1978), many friends recommended New Zealand to me and said that the country is the last pure land for human beings, probably excluding South Polar and North Polar. My friends around me all went abroad one by one. Many of them went to New Zealand, the number of whom is only less than that of Canada. I have always dreamed of living in this paradise. After that I would work hard and save money, hoping to study here and get PR, and finally become New Zealander, breathing the most pure and clean air, drinking the natural water which is even cleaner than mineral water in China...

I was very excited to board on the plane to New Zealand two months ago. This was the first time I took plane and couldn't help feeling a little nervous and worried. Luckily, the Chinese passengers sit around me were all very nice, helping me filling in the forms and introducing the natural scene, local culture and long history of New Zealand to me. I was deeply attracted by this mysterious country. But the time of flight was too long for me, like passing several centuries. The food on the plane was very delicious, but too less. After I know I could ask for more food, I got one more meal. The services on board were very patient and considerable.

Looking at the white clouds outside the window, I dreamed of the country that I dreamed everyday - New Zealand. I even couldn't get sleep, worried that I had to fly back to China in case that I didn't wake up when the plane landed. I didn't want to be back again. Finally I saw the land. "Is that New Zealand? It is so beautiful." I asked the young man next to me. He said it was Indonesia. I was silent again. Why it was still not New Zealand after flying so long time?

At last, when I wandered between two flight cabins, it was sounded the unfamiliar English. I asked the young man next to me. He said the plane was

about to land in Auckland. What! Auckland? Didn't I make mistake? Is this the city that has Sky Tower; is this the city that is called the hometown of white clouds; is this the city that is most suitable for human to live in the world; is this the city which has zero criminal rate while called wonderful world? I got excited again. I made a deep breath as soon as I got off the plane. Smells good! It was just the same as I dreamed that the air was filled of flavor of kiwifruit.

I looked around - this is the place where I would work hard and live in the rest of my life. I also saw many western people that I have never seen before. They looked good, with blonde hair, big eyes and tall stature. "I would become one of them in the future." I said to myself.

Well, it is all for today now. The more I write the more excited I am and I almost can't stop writing. I believe I must get PR in the future. This country is so good and I love here very much. There should be no reason that the leaders of New Zealand don't grant me PR.

**幽绿:** LZ 你想好怎么拿 PR 了吗? 按摩院还是嫁老外? 加油 LZ

Do you ever think how to get PR? Working in Massage shop or marry a foreigner? Come on, LZ

**Porkpie:** 听 lz 说话, 我突然觉得恶心

I suddenly feel sick at what LZ said.

**Platonism:** 楼主你是在反讽么??? 还是我高估你了??? 胡思乱想。。。

Does LZ say with irony??? Or do I over-estimate you??? Don't be cranky...

**没芽的土豆:** lz 闲得淡疼, 鉴定完毕

I think LZ must have nothing else to do, identification is over.

**Jeffalert:** 药不能停!!

You can't stop taking medicine!

**雨果子:** 零犯罪率.....這個.....LZ 是不是有點想得太過於美好了.....

'Zero criminal rate...' For this point, LZ probably thought too perfectly...

**混口饭:** LZ 移民局不看 Skykiwi...

LZ, the staff of immigration office doesn't look up Skykiwi...

**Anna228:** 一身鸡皮疙瘩...

full of goose bumps...

**Pj\_qd:** '就是那个零犯罪率花花世界的奥克兰吗?'

去奥克兰小心晚上让毛毛把你抢了

'Is this the city which has zero criminal rates while called wonderful world?'

Be careful to be robbed by Maori at night in Auckland.

**冷雨寒夜:** LZ 的意思是前面都是铺垫, 真正的中心思想是倒数第二句~~~~全湿的亮点~~

The previous parts are not that relevant. I think LZ's purpose is the last two sentences - the shining point of whole story -

**无名的小菜花:** 不得不说 LZ 不一般。。。。。

I have to say that LZ is really not a normal person....

**米娃娃:** 真不知该说什么 LZ 你是哪人呀

Really don't know what to say. Where are you from, LZ?

**何匆匆:** 新西兰应该成立一个华人作家协会, 由这个 LZ 领头做会长



It should be established a Chinese Writers Association in New Zealand and let this LZ be the chair.

**嘻哈棉毛裤:** 這個是啥???貌似移民局也不會上 Skykiwi

What is this??? It seems that the immigration officers will never look up Skykiwi.

**小当家:** 耐心的看完 LZ 的贴子, 也不知道该说什么, 我想这就是“无语”的解释吧

想给 LZ 几点建议:

- 1.真心地恳求 LZ 不要把这帖子发到国内网站上去, 不然我们在新西兰的华人们都会被你连累的!
- 2.如果你想更加深入的融入您心爱的纯净新西兰的话, 那么变成金发碧眼的 KIWI 是远不够的, 你要暗暗的对自己说: “我要变成身高体壮, 毛多黝黑, 眼睛也不小的毛利人”! 那样才够纯! 毕竟毛利人先来的!
- 3.长白云的故乡是新西兰的别称, 不是光奥克兰, 奥克兰去过很多次, 没有闻到空气里有奇异果的味道, 您的鼻子很强!
- 4.如果还激动的话, 请找点药吃, 您帖子里最让我恶心的一句话就是: “心潮澎湃 久久无法入睡 真怕睡着了 万一飞机降落后我不知道 又飞回中国怎么办, 我可不想再回去了”

看完后无话可说. 有多大屁股, 穿多大裤衩儿!

Finishing looking at the story with patient, and don't know what to say to LZ. I guess it is the explanation of 'wuyu' (can't say a word). Want to give LZ some suggestions:

1. Please don't send this post to domestic websites in China, or our New Zealand Chinese will be hurt because of you.
- 2.If you wish to deep understand your dear pure New Zealand, it is not enough to become kiwi with blond hair and blue eyes. You should say to yourself, 'I should become Maori people with strong body, brown skin, and big eyes.' After all, it is Maori people who first came here.
3. The description of 'the hometown of white clouds' refers to New Zealand, not merely including Auckland. I have been to Auckland for many times and never smelled the flavor of kiwifruit in the air. Your nose must be very different from others!
4. If you still feel excited, you could go and find some medicine. The most disgusting sentence in your post is, 'I even couldn't get sleep, worried that I had to fly back to China in case that I didn't wake up when the plane landed. I didn't want to be back again.'

I don't want to say anything else after reading the post. Don't dream of something that you can never achieve it.

**小胖儿:** 擦! 头回听说想变傻子的人!

First time to hear that someone wants to become an idiot!

**等雪的晴子:** LZ 是飞机上吃多了吧, 哈哈, 感觉像在写小学生的作文, 就是那种“我有一个梦想, 长大以后要当个科学家。。。 ”AKL 零犯罪吗, 我咋听说到处都 是抢包抢钱的呢, 总之看了无语了.

LZ must have eaten too much on the flight. Ha-ha, it feels like that you are like a pupil who is writing a composition which is in the form of “I have a dream that I will become a scientist in the future...” Does Auckland have zero criminal rates? I heard that the robbery always happened. In a word, I can't say a word after reading.

We can see that many repliers fiercely rebut Lotte and the language used here is caustic and sharper-tongued compared with previous discussions. Some participants used words such as “disgusting, cranky, not normal”, and so forth to directly criticize Lotte; while others wrote in an ironic tone to indirectly express their contempt for Lotte. In this abstract of interaction, the awkward moments are caused by several possible sources.

First, Lotte is perceived to have a stigma that disqualifies him from full membership of the Chinese diasporic community. For instance, 米娃娃 deliberately wrote “Where are you from, LZ”, which seems to say that “though I know you are from China, you don’t behave and act how we normally expect, so we don’t want to regard you as a member of our Chinese community”. Again, 小当家’s words “our New Zealand Chinese will be hurt because of you” tends to convey a sense that “your words heavily damage our community image because we don’t think in the same way as you at all”.

Second, the too-perfect imagination of New Zealand, especially the “zero criminal rates”, leads to respondents’ refutations. Moreover, Lotte’s words even invoke emotions of hostility towards New Zealand among other repliers; for example, 小胖子 wrote, “first time to hear that someone wants to become an idiot”, which implies that the people whom Lotte wishes to become are idiots. Hence, Lotte’s flattering attitude towards the host country seems not to be accepted by other community members, resulting in awkward moments in interaction.

Third, due to Lotte’s stigma, 幽绿 even interrogated more angrily, “do you ever think how to get PR, working in massage shop or marry a foreigner?” There must be examples of Chinese diaspora who work in massage or marry a foreigner, only for the purpose of immigration, which are known to 幽绿. The discussion seems to make 幽绿 think of such “devalued behavior” and arouses his anger during the communication. This awkward moment arises from 幽绿’s deep-seated hostility toward individuals who

possess such stigma, which is explained by Bodenhausen, Sheppard & Kramer in that “increasing one’s emotion of hostility may lead to problematic interactions, given that angry people have been shown to use stereotypes more than those who are not angry” (1994: 47).

Last, in 小当家’s posting, he thought the most disgusting sentence is “I even couldn’t get sleep, worried that I had to fly back to China in case that I didn’t wake up when the plane landed. I didn’t want to be back again.” Lotte’s words appear to say New Zealand is much better than China and thus he doesn’t want to be back again. It is due to this description of the inferiority of China in comparison to New Zealand that leads to 小当家’s discomfort and anger. We may assume that in 小当家’s ideology system, China should be regarded as a superior country for every Chinese even if they are scattered around the world or settled in a host country, which is also a shared view among the community (as discussed previously; see *shared values* and *social empowerment*). Therefore, this reaction comes from Lotte’s stigma in being perceived to fail as a desirable Chinese.

In conclusion, the social relations and interactions among the Chinese online community can also be awkward, embarrassing or tense when members’ acknowledged moral views are challenged or damaged. This acknowledged moral view is also called “a justification ideology” by Schutte, which is a set of (1) beliefs and values about how the world works; and (2) moral standards that serve to create levels of moral values (1995). Hence, a justification ideology is the frame through which people make sense of the world and when justification ideologies are challenged, we may react with anxiety, hostility and anger. In this example, the shared justification ideology in discussion groups is the loyalty and belongingness to China and meanwhile believing in the superiority of China over New Zealand. As I discussed in the last section (7.2), such shared values or ideas are fundamental for community building. Lotte’s words seem to threaten such an ideology system and thereby results in awkward moments during interaction. Obviously, Lotte is

considered to have a stigma that is less desirable and fails to qualify him to full membership of the Chinese community. Of course this stigma comes from the judgment of other community members. Therefore, there is indeed evidence of centralizing tendencies fostering a sense of solidarity and cohesion based on shared Chinese identities in the Skykiwi online community. However, as I quoted earlier, “Chinese identity on the internet is not always homogeneous, but contingent, often multiple and evolving, for Chinese communities can deploy a range of strategies to manage their identities” (Wong, 2003: 4). As for Skykiwi, there are also multiple and diverse viewpoints and so there would not be a single dominant discourse on diasporic identity. Actually there are echoes of the previous Discourse model in Lotte’s talk, that is, the Chinese diasporic discourse on Skykiwi combines easily with a positive attitude towards their host country. But the problem is these ideas are not balanced with other community members or are overstated for the others.

### **7.5 Negotiated identity**

Previous literature reveals that it is difficult to locate a dominant view in the virtual space due to the dynamic feature of the electronic community. Similarly, Chinese diaspora on the internet have presented multiple options of identity formation, negotiating between home and host countries. Examples have been found in the Skykiwi website that on the one hand, Chinese diaspora stick to their original cultural identity and emphasize their cultural differences compared with local people; however, on the other hand, Chinese diaspora tend to be well adjusted to local rules in some aspects of their lives, exhibiting good adaptive skills necessary for their selective acculturation process in online interaction. As I argued previously, the issue of who we are is managed in many ways in Skykiwi, and so there was a range of Discourse models which indicated a range of ways of articulating identity at work.

Despite the largely shared Chinese culture and way of thinking circulated on Skykiwi,

new cultural elements and ways of life in the host country has emerged from discussion, some of which received acknowledgement from other community members. The first posting about going fishing is such an example of an adapted lifestyle presented in forum.

### ***Posting 1***

**ml0326860:** LZ 啥时能组织组织呢?

When can LZ organize such activity?

**james\_wjy:** 我代表我全家, 强烈要求一起参加!!!!

I represent my whole families, to join you!!!

**Sweetcherry:** 运费 19.多, 6 个鲍鱼'. 有点贵呢 (香肉肉 发表于 2011-4-23 13:13 )

你的狗狗太可爱啦~~ 出浴照~~~

我们上次买了 24 个 算上运费一共也才 120

Mailing fee is over 19 dollars, for 6 paua, a little bit expensive..... (香肉肉 posted at 13:13 23/04/2011)

Your dog is so cute - after bath...

We bought 24 paua last time, plus mailing fee, it is only 120 dollars in total.

**Miaomeow:** 谢谢 LZ。刚买了! 买了鲍鱼还有一些其他的, 期待着他们送来了~~

Thank you LZ. I just bought some paua and other things, expecting...

**四季旅行社:** 就在楼主给的网站地址里面买啊, 很多活的海鲜。谢谢分享。

Just buy it from the address LZ provided, many fresh seafood. Thanks for sharing.

From earlier analysis, we have known that Sweetcherry is well adjusted in one aspect of life in New Zealand - fishing in the sea - and thus gets much acknowledgement and admiration for her lifestyle from discussion participants. For instance, two participants, ml0326860 and james\_wjy, expressed their willingness to join in such activity, revealing their interest in learning fishing skills for adaptation to social life in the host country. Furthermore, the other participants, 香肉肉, Miaomeow and 四季旅行社, have already changed this interest into practice in that they bought seafood according to the information provided by Sweetcherry. So the example proves that in some aspects, there is a tendency for Chinese diaspora to actively integrate into the local culture and lifestyle.

### ***Posting 2***

**萨米:** 从领事馆对我们的提醒, 中国是靠儿养老, 不得不买。。。。。。

From the reminder from Chinese Consulate, the situation in China is that we

can completely depend on our children to take care of us when we are getting old. But since we are here, you have to buy insurance for yourself...

萨米 expressed two points here: a) we should buy life insurance, just like the local people and Chinese who decide to settle down in New Zealand; b) the initiative to buy insurance is attributed to Chinese tradition and culture. This Chinese individual seems to present a bi-cultural way to make sense of the issue, with the combination of “behaving as local people” and “thinking as Chinese”. Moreover, 萨米 mentioned the Chinese Consulate with indirect quotation which constructs the Chinese Consulate as a trustful and an authoritative department, in order to prove that using the bi-cultural way of thinking to orient local behavior is feasible as even the Chinese Consulate suggests so. Therefore, the above texts exhibit an effort to persuade other community members to negotiate between two cultures - a suggestion of using Chinese perspectives to make sense of life in New Zealand.

### ***Posting 3***

**苏新:**我觉得很好吃啊, 就是稍微咸点, 重口味的人会喜欢。

I feel it is quite delicious, just a little bit salty. But some people with heavy taste would like it.

**Andylosay:** twice down 还挺过瘾的就是太油了, 有点顶。

Twice down is very delicious and enjoyable, just too much oil and feels too full...

As I discussed before, most repliers don't seem to like the KFC's “double down” in posting 3, but there are still a few respondents who could accept such “local taste”. Seen from the above postings, two repliers accept the taste of “double down”. However, by using the same word “just”, these two people immediately express the shared dissatisfied opinion on its “salty and oily” taste. A hybrid identity is signaled from texts - acceptance of local food while still maintaining some thinking as a Chinese. Thus, this hybridity works in the way of merging/negotiating old identities into new ones.

As I have discussed earlier, although the internet may have a centripetal force of

drawing diaspora together, a powerful segmenting force generated from the multiple and varied discourses also co-exists, which reflects “the inner differences within the virtual community”, as Mitra suggests (1997a: 75). In the discussion forums, “every single posting changes the image to some degree and this change is a continuing process since the postings never stop” (Mitra, 1997a: 75). The following posting is an expression and decision of complete adoption of the host identity that challenges the stereotypical image of Chinese diaspora who usually choose the selected acculturation process. Obviously, the LZ’s idea isn’t accepted by most discussion participants; however, we still find there are a few Chinese diaspora who could negotiate between the discourse of complete integration into the host country and that of cultural superiority based on home culture.

#### ***Posting 4:***

**Skylaughing:** 每个人都有自己的认识事物的过程，每个人的感受会因为她的/他的处境而不同。所以文化多元化，人生多样化是非常正常的。抱着不同的目的来到同一块土地，创造着不同的人生是生活的乐趣所在。楼主只是真地表达了他的个人感受。我们的感受与之相同也好，不同也好，都不能替代他或否定他。他也许会真的实现他的梦想，只要他执着的努力，拿个 PR 不算太高的要求，任何具备基本条件和真正努力的人应该是都可以达到的。新西兰的 PR 标准相对其他国家不算高。LZ 追求你的梦想吧！你会在追逐梦想的途中遇着各种各样的人，听到五花八门的话，只要你能坚持你就能达到理想境地！！

Everyone has his own process of understanding and he may have different understandings due to different circumstances. So it is natural to have multiculturalism thereby having different way of life. Having different dreams to come to the same land while creating different ways of life, is the happiness of life. LZ just expressed his true feelings. No matter we agree with him or not, we can’t substitute of him or deny him. He could make his dream come true if he works hard. Getting PR is not that difficult. Anyone who is eligible for PR and with real efforts could reach it. The standard of New Zealand PR is not that high compared with other countries. LZ, go after your dream! You may meet different people and hear different words, but you will succeed if you can keep going.

**Skylaughing:** 我是这里呆久了，回不去了。跟不上时代了(小猪姚姚 发表于 2011-5-27 20:33 ) 是否跟得上时代，与人在哪里是木有关系的吧。诸葛亮当年寒居茅庐，照样高屋建瓴，将天下于心中，精辟地分析当时的形势。与当今时代，地域对人的影响更小。

My situation is I couldn’t go back China because I have stayed in New Zealand for too long time. I am behind the times in China. (小猪姚姚 posted at 20:33 27/05/2011)

Whether you could catch up with times doesn’t depend on where you are. In

ancient times, although Zhu Gelian<sup>27</sup> lived in a remote place, he was still able to know the outside world and analyze the situation at that time. Nowadays the influence of location is even less than past.

**Skylaughing:** 信息是共享的吗。只要你有了当代的信息和做事的决心其实在那影响不太大。也不能久某一件事论成败。在新西兰可以做很多中国做不了的事，在中国也有中国的特色，可以说互有优势。所以在哪里都有那里的乐趣。你的斑竹作得也很好，在中国也许你没时间享受这个快事。总之，所谓的时代，圈子都有相对性。还有人认为在中国会落伍。只是不同的看法而已。我在教会听了一句我觉得有用的话：stay firm and take action. 坚定并且行动。真的做到我觉得就够了。

Information can be shared. If you have the current information and the determination, it will not be a great difference of where you are. You can do many things in New Zealand, which you can't do in China, and vice versa. Each country has its own features and advantages. So you can get happiness everywhere. You may have done a good job as a moderator here, but you may not have time to enjoy it in China. In a word, both times and locations have relativity. Some people may even think he would be out of times if in China. It is just the different view. I heard a useful sentence in church: stay firm and take action. So it is enough that you just do it and get it done.

**Skylaughing:** 每个人细细回想一下，當初第一次來到 kiwi 国有木有樓主所說的某一點相似的感覺，日後慢慢滴現實了，看法有了變化。當然，lz 的描述有了誇張，但偶們也不知道他/她是費了多大勁才來到 kiwi 国。以其個人經歷，或許就是那樣地想法。想一想 Lz 或許還米有受到種族歧視倒先受到同族網友的.....

還是給樓主流清靜心情自我了解認識吧！！

Please think carefully your first time when you came to New Zealand. Don't you ever have any similar feeling with LZ? It is natural to change the previous ideas with time passing by. Of course LZ's description has a sense of exaggeration. But we didn't know how much effort he made to come to New Zealand. It is probably his true feelings according to his own experience at that time. Just imagine that perhaps LZ first suffered discrimination from our Chinese community on the internet before he suffered discrimination from other ethnicity...

Please leave LZ enough space and peace for self-awareness!

**zsy0129:** 既然喜欢这里那 LZ 一定要努力留下来...加油~~

Since LZ likes here very much, then you should work hard to stay here... come on -

Skylaughing is a participant who actively engages into this discussion and replies to many postings to support LZ. He mentioned the idea of "multiculturalism" to suggest LZ's identity choice could be understood and accepted. In the second replied posting, He quoted Zhu Gelian, a famous historical figure in Chinese culture, to refute the idea that "the speed of development in China is faster than in New Zealand",

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<sup>27</sup>Zhu Gelian is a famous strategist in ancient China. He masters military strategies and natural sciences knowledge.



indirectly challenging the largely shared knowledge of superiority of China over New Zealand within the virtual community. What seems interesting here is that in the following posting Skylaughing also quoted a sentence from a local church to argue that if one has decision and takes action, he will be good whether in China or New Zealand. It reflects that his way of thinking is the combination of Chinese culture and local ones. Hence, because of what Skylaughing believes - “China and New Zealand has their own advantages that you can enjoy life in both countries” he appears to have a hybrid cultural identity himself. Finally, his last posting referred to the sense of “Chinese community”, trying to negotiate between LZ and other community members for mutual understanding. Then it is not surprising to see another participant zsy0129 who also expresses his support and encouragement on LZ’s decision to integrate into New Zealand. So we can see negotiation by one person of these various subject positions.

Therefore, instead of homogeneous views on maintaining Chinese culture, or fully integration into the host culture, there are multiple and diverse voices in the Skykiwi virtual community that support a selective acculturation or a negotiated identity, that is, the adoption of certain elements of local culture, (such as lifestyle, food, consumer culture and so on), while maintaining a Chinese way of thinking. Thus, the findings reinforce previous discourse values that there is a tendency of a hybrid cultural system formation among Chinese diaspora who can manage to negotiate between two culture systems.

## **7.6 Chapter summary and conclusion**

The analysis of the Skykiwi forum discussions suggests that a virtual community is being formed on site where Chinese diaspora have a sense of belonging by expressing shared practices and values. The three main discourse values built in the last chapter are also found as distinctive discourse shared in discussion groups. Two more

subsidiary Discourse models are constructed in this chapter to sit alongside those values too:

- a. Chinese diaspora explicitly claim their belonging to China and maintain Chinese cultural identity.
- b. Chinese people are likely to make sense of host lives from Chinese perspectives or ways of thinking, enabling a method of hybrid formation.
- c. Chinese people may be involved in a partial integration into New Zealand, that is, adapting into some aspects of host life while keep Chinese values in other aspects.

☆Some Chinese diaspora may be well adjusted to New Zealand life, however, they still feel a sense of strong belonging to China/the Chinese community, and so in other words, it is one of partial belonging.

☆The Chinese diaspora is capable of optional integration into the host country.

According to evidence in these examples, I argue that it is the shared discourse values that become the premise of Skykiwi virtual community construction, and that the diasporic identity built within the community is a hybrid one that involves both home and host cultures. The discourse of identity in Skykiwi demonstrates a selective acculturation process of Chinese diaspora in which certain aspects of Chinese culture and values are still maintained.

The analysis of forum discussions also proves that two conflicting forces do coexist on the site, that is, the centripetal tendency of promoting Chineseness and building community; and the diversifying tendency of various positions and viewpoints towards orientation in host life. Contrasting to previous studies on Chinese virtual communities that emphasize their centripetal tendency, for instance, Yang Guobin (2003), Tu (1994) and Liu (1999), the analysis also addresses the moment of fragmentation within community, or what Mitra (1997a) called “inner differences”.

However, the negotiation by individuals of different identities and inner differences within a virtual community is then found in those “awkward times”, demonstrating the discursive process of diasporic identity formation.

Finally, the findings show that the Skykiwi virtual community is distinctive from other diasporic virtual communities in previous studies in several meaningful ways:

- a. It is a place available on the internet where people can go to learn and get information from more experienced members, facilitating the integration process.
- b. It is a place where people give or gain support, or can simply be in the company of others.
- c. It is a place where people can share common origins and culture, values and knowledge, and even the way of making sense of the world.

## Chapter 8. Conclusion

With an investigation of one space - New Zealand's most popular Chinese portal site [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz) - where Chinese diaspora construct and manifest a hybrid formation via communications, the findings of this thesis resound with a range of widely discussed literature on identity issues in media and cultural studies. In particular, this study re-examined the argumentative theories on transnationalism and hybridization (Pieterse, 1995; Portes, 2001), diaspora and media (Vertovec, 1999; Cottle, 2000), sensemaking and identity (Wetherell et. al., 2001; Weick, 2001; Weedon, 2004), centripetal and centrifugal forces of the internet (Mitra, 1997a), diasporic media and networks (Karim, 1998 and Georgiou, 2006b), imagined community (Anderson, 1983), and meanwhile specifically shed some light on the new thinking of Chinese diasporic identity and virtual community formed on the internet.

### **Summary of the findings in response to the main research questions**

By employing a range of qualitative methods to analyze distinctive discourse patterns, the findings of this empirical study show that one of the most distinctive characteristics of online identity constructed by Chinese diaspora in [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz) is the hybrid identity discourses articulated via the site. The process of forming these hybrid practices can be understood in terms of the three significant master discourse models built in the analysis.

### ***Firstly, the Chinese diaspora explicitly claim their belonging to China and maintain Chinese cultural identity.***

This study finds that a remarkable feature in Skykiwi discourse is the emphasis on the social actors' Chinese origins in identity claims. For instance, the "New Zealand + Chinese/places of home in China + social actor's name" pattern was a distinctive form of identity discourse and widely recognized expression on Skykiwi, which indicates that Chinese national identity is a very important component of diasporic Chinese

identity. Meanwhile, the term “Huaren”, together with other terms containing the word “Hua”, seems to be used most frequently on Skykiwi to represent general Chinese diaspora. This preference for claiming a China core in identity discourse inevitably creates a sense of Chinese nationalism, and thereby support He and Guo’s (2000) description of a “pan-Chinese identity” promoted within Chinese diasporic communities nowadays. Another widely available way of reinforcing this authentic Chinese identity on Skykiwi is by preserving Chinese culture, claiming strong ties of duty and a sense of pride in China. Promotions of Chinese popular cultures and celebrations of traditional festivals are such examples on the site, which are regarded as an important way of being Chinese for members of the diaspora in New Zealand.

However, these widely circulated identity claims are understood in this study as indicators of a problematic and only partially successful self-positioning, similar to what Fowler (1991) called “overlexicalisation”. The overlexicalisation of Chinese cultural identity in Skykiwi discourse may suggest a crisis or threat to the practices of diasporic identity. Diasporic identity is widely regarded in the literature as problematic, including the problems of “not knowing where one belongs”, “identity dilemmas”, “struggles for identification and membership”, and so forth (Wodak & Krzyzanowski, 2008). As I discussed in Chapter 2, studies of Chinese identity show that reinforcing Chinese culture and maintaining Chineseness are extremely important, especially when such culture needs to be defended against western cultural imperialism (Levenson, 1970). Chinese diaspora in New Zealand may also face such problems in identity construction, which is the reason why diasporic identity matters are frequently foregrounded in these ways on the Skykiwi website.

*Secondly, the Chinese people are likely to make sense of their host-country lives from Chinese perspectives of thinking, enabling a hybrid identity formation in their online communications.*

It is an interesting finding in Skykiwi that Chinese diaspora are very likely to use Chinese cultural meaning systems to make sense of their lives in New Zealand. A

widely available form of such expression is by claiming greater knowledge of Chinese culture. When encountering differences, instead of simple rejection, members of the Chinese diaspora tend to actively negotiate their identities by thinking from Chinese perspectives. For example, the use of the terms “pure land” and “hometown of blue sky and white cloud”, which draw on ancient Chinese symbols of an ideal and dreamlike place to live, frequently appeared in the Skykiwi website describing New Zealand. What should be noticed here is that this mode of life is in accordance with values promoted by Confucianism. As I discussed in literature, Confucianism - in itself - is the centre of the pan-Chinese cultural identity, which has shaped Chinese ideology system since ancient times.

Similarly, the article on Skykiwi about Auckland Huaren rugby team demonstrates that Chinese diaspora try to understand rugby culture from Chinese way of thinking. The content emphasizes courage as members of the Chinese diaspora claimed a responsibility for contributing to the 2011 New Zealand Rugby World Cup. The feeling of duty and belief that “if everyone can make a little effort, the whole world will become better” are also deep-rooted values shared by most Chinese people, which developed from the ideology of Confucianism. The identity theory which I discussed previously indicates that Chinese cultural identity is centered on Confucianism, seeing people who “speak the Chinese language and share the Chinese culture” (He & Guo, 2000: 6-7) as Chinese. The analysis reinforces the idea of a pan-Chinese identity which seems to be widely spreaded on Skykiwi. Meanwhile the Chinese diaspora involved in Skykiwi interactions seek to participate in New Zealand cultural life in terms of these pan-Chinese values.

Another significant finding comes from the way that Chinese people using Chinese culture to understand local cultural practice, including the article about the suggestion to use Chinese shoe culture to understand New Zealand’s and the article about making sense of the local “NO EXIT” road system from Chinese perspectives. The analysis shows that the way members of the Chinese diaspora negotiate identity is through

claiming greater knowledge of Chinese culture because he/she places Chinese culture in the first position. Therefore, I argue that using Chinese cultural meaning system to make sense of their lives in New Zealand is regarded as a form of wisdom on Skykiwi. From this perspective, communications on Skykiwi website enables a way to negotiate between two different cultures and finally results in a hybrid identity formation by Chinese diaspora. Furthermore, this successful form of Chinese-New Zealand identity not only gains status for Chinese diaspora within this network, but may also serve for a diaspora's social empowerment in physical world.

***Thirdly, Chinese people may be involved in a partial integration into New Zealand, that is, adapting to some aspects of host-country life while keeping Chineseness in other aspects.***

In many previous studies, scholars have identified a hybrid position occupied by diaspora since they are exposed to two or more cultural options. In my study too, a hybrid formation was found to be distinctive in online discourse among the Chinese diaspora on Skykiwi. More specifically, I argue that this hybrid identity produced on Skykiwi is premised on the acceptance and appreciation of local culture in New Zealand. Discourse models built from the analysis show that the Chinese diasporic discourse on Skykiwi combines easily with a positive attitude towards their host country, without exclusiveness or simple rejection. For instance, terms of a “hometown of white clouds and blue sky” and “pure land” explicitly express the Chinese diaspora's compliments and appreciation of the natural environment in New Zealand; the “shoe culture” article points to the more professional knowledge of buying shoes in modern New Zealand, compared with China; stories about the “smiling behaviour” among New Zealanders indicate that it is a good culture for Chinese to learn from. In this regard, the Skykiwi website fulfills the role of diasporic media, as argued by many scholars (e.g. Mitra, 1997a; Georgiou, 2006b; Chan, 2006; Elias and Lemish, 2009), that serve as the first step to learn about a new society. On the other side, this distinct character found in Skykiwi is quite different from some diasporic networks which may easily combine the discourse of strong hostility at local

culture that gives rise to social alienation (e.g. Yelenevskaya, 2005). It rather opens up opportunities for integration into the host society if people want to take them up.

More importantly, this study finds that the discourse in Skykiwi seem to encourage a partial integration into the host country. This feature is evident in the article on overseas Chinese marriage in which the author held a viewpoint that Chinese diaspora should maintain the Chinese way of thinking on marriage even if they are overseas. It is also evident in the article about the “Feng shui” perspective that people should not get married in the year of the tiger (Chinese lunar year of 2010) because of the following year’s “unluckiness”. It is not a coincidence that both authors held the same attitude that one should keep Chinese ways of thinking on the issue of marriage. An earlier study (Melkote and Liu, 2000) has suggested that Chinese intellectuals have a behavioral acculturation to the host country while still maintaining Chinese values in their online expressions of identity. Marriage is an important component of Chinese values and maybe it is also a shared idea that people should maintain such values on Skykiwi. These examples may supplement the identity model in that the way Chinese diaspora negotiate identity on Skykiwi is by deploying a partial integration, that is, learning appropriate forms of local behavior, such as everyday language, food, clothes and so forth, but remaining Chinese values regarding marriage and family. This mode of partial integration is much like the idea of “pluralistic integration” argued by Melkote and Liu (2000).

### **Limitations of the study**

The current study adopts a qualitative approach, considering the changing and fluid nature of identity construction. The qualitative approach is known as more useful in examining certain social processes than quantitative approaches, particularly in terms of how people make sense of the social world. The issue of diasporic identity is one such social process that refers to a group of people’s specific sense-making. Thus, various levels and perspectives of discourse analysis were employed in this thesis to explore the online space of [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz) within which I can observe how



Chinese diaspora act to make sense of their lives in New Zealand and deploy identity in virtual community. More specifically, the purposive sampling was used to collect texts for analysis. Since I was looking for texts that were distinctive on Skykiwi discourse, I believed the purposive sampling strategy was well suited to this aim. However, the limitations of the method are also obvious.

The first limitation of this study might be the strategy of sampling. Some scholars may question a purposive approach because it does not aim for representativeness. However, Staller (2010: 1161) writes that “qualitative researchers are more apt to use some form of purposive sampling. They might seek out people, cases, events, or communities because they are extreme, critical, typical, or atypical.” So I was looking for material that raised particular issues, rather than gathering typical mundane texts. From this view, the selected texts can be seen as still representative of the values shared via Skykiwi. For instance, the selected articles include several genres, such as news report, self-narrative, poem and announcement, and also cover a range of topics, such as festivals, celebrities, food, sports, shopping, lifestyles and so forth. However, all articles raise the issue of identity performance among Chinese diaspora in their lives in New Zealand.

The second limitation relates to the lack of offline investigation. The current study only focused on the online discourses produced by a Chinese virtual community on a Zealand-based network - [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz). Since up till now there is no evidence that proves online activities can exactly reflect the offline practices, therefore, the current study’s contribution to the literature on identity constructions within diasporic communities in other contexts must be limited.

Thirdly, this study involves new Chinese settlers and transient members of diaspora who may not reside in New Zealand for long. Although this group is significant in New Zealand as there’s been a lot of inward migration by people of Chinese background, it is also a limitation that it does not include long-term settlers and even

second, third, fourth generation immigrants. Some studies show that long-resident Chinese immigrants, especially their offspring, express less longing for China and being Chinese. Therefore, the finding and conclusion of this study are limited, only presenting the features of a particular group within a given context.

### **Contributions to existing knowledge**

The analysis presented in this study contributes to the existing literature on the dynamic constructions of diasporic identity via social network by highlighting the online practices of the Chinese virtual community in a New Zealand based Chinese website - [www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz) . In particular, this study follows Gee's framework of discourse analysis, drawing a number of strategic tools to analyze how the language is used to enact specific social identity on the site. It is also significant that I have described distinctive characteristics in this thesis, though I can't claim typicality as I have not systematically studied a typical sample. Therefore, this study contributes to both methodology for carrying out studies in the field and knowledge of identity, hybridity, online communication, virtual community and diaspora studies.

### ***Methodology of the research***

Identity is never a fixed end or pre-existing matter, but rather a process that is fluid, dynamic and shaped through wider social practices. Identity occurs in interactions and involves with sense-making which is a psychological process of identifying self. To study the complex, multiple and practices-based dimensions of identity, I use discourse analysis as the method to study the language used on Skykiwi that enact social actors' identities. In particular, different levels and dimensions of discourse analysis, including lexical and intertextual, linguistic and psychological, are deployed as strategies for exploring the certain mode of identity allocated to Chinese diaspora on Skykiwi. Unlike quantitative research, qualitative analysis in this study is believed to better explain "social processes, how people make sense and create meaning, and what their lived experiences are like" (Staller, 2010: 1159), and thereby open up other analysis for scholars of the field.

I especially look at discourse of identity claims on the site, both explicitly and implicitly, as these are marks that make Skykiwi distinctive from other network. These marks are significantly found on site from lexical perspectives, with analysis of key words and phrases of identity claims and situated meanings. Meanwhile linguistic details have been concerned in this study, including modality, conversion thinking and rhetoric strategies (e.g. hyperbole and metaphor). Intertextual features on site have also attracted my attention because these are marks showing the way that Chinese diaspora discursively constitute social relations and practices. By drawing intertextually on the representations of social actors and style of news reporting and evaluative argument, I found that Skykiwi writers position the site as able to achieve some discursive work through which they can draw in aspects of public talk and rework them, and thereby forming a kind of confident assertion of the relevance of public debate to Skykiwi members and of their location within public life too. This study is also distinctive in its psychological strategy-process of sense-making. The approach of sense-making is used to carry out this research as it is an effective tool to reveal the construction of discursive self among Chinese diaspora, and particularly how individuals construct identities through language and meaning. Finally, the materials I picked up in this study include non-interactive content - online articles (e.g. news, announcement, etc.) and more interactive content - forum discussions. This way of gathering materials allowed me to not only look at distinctive discourse but also test them in larger content.

To conclude, a number of analytical tools are deployed in this study as the method of the qualitative research. With these discursive strategies, three master Discourse models and a number of subsidiary discourse models have been built, pointing to the discursive formation of a hybrid identity by Chinese diaspora on Skykiwi. The way that I carried out this research contributes to the methodology in identity studies of diaspora, proposing a tool that scholars might work with elsewhere in the field.

### *Contribution to identity theory*

Seen from the above, the purpose of the study of identity is not to find the real, authentic or true self pre-existing in individuals, but rather to investigate how people form their views of the world, others and their innermost selves, and present them through language and other forms of meaning-making. By analyzing the identity discourse presented on Skykiwi, this study manifested the complexity and discursiveness in identity construction.

Firstly, explicit identity claims appear in a range of different “text genres” (e.g. announcement, news, self-narrative and poem) in Skykiwi, for instance, the naming pattern of “host country+origin+social actor”, the key words “reside” and “immigrant”. These identity discourses pointing to social actors seem to identify the “difference” of Chinese to New Zealanders from the very beginning. Marking difference is inevitable in the process of identification since identity “is defined in relation of what it is not” (Weedon, 2004: 19). However, what is significant in Skykiwi is that the way of marking difference with local people is heavily stressed by members of the Chinese diaspora. It does not only appear in a few texts, but is frequently found in the other online texts on the website. According to Ang (2003: 141), “claiming one’s difference and turning it into symbolic capital has become a powerful and attractive strategy among those who have been marginalized or excluded from the structures of white or Western hegemony”. The findings reinforce that Chinese in New Zealand experience living here in terms of their marked difference.

Secondly, the discourses produced online are easily combined with positive attitudes towards New Zealand. The description about “blue sky and white clouds” (sample 1&2), the articles of shoe culture in New Zealand (sample 4), first class in New Zealand (sample 7), Christchurch earthquake (sample 19) and overseas life in New Zealand (sample 20) all generate a sense of a positive attitude towards the host country. The author of article 7 felt that his first class in New Zealand is full of special

human care, praising the local culture of education. The article on the “Christchurch earthquake” also engenders a sense of praising the local government’s efficient reaction to the disaster. The author of “overseas’ life in New Zealand” seems to convey that the smiling culture of New Zealand is a good culture for Chinese to learn. From these views, discourses produced on Skykiwi implied a sense of positive attitude towards adopting local cultures.

The above two features in identity construction on Skykiwi seem to be paradoxical as they point to the two sides of the issue. However, many scholars argue that identity is never a “thing” but rather a process through which the subjects can make sense of who they are. The way Chinese diaspora make sense of their identity on Skykiwi is thus discursive, entangled, and even contested, through which “Chinese communities can deploy a range of strategies to manage their identities” (Wong, 2003: 4).

A distinctive feature of the Skykiwi discourse is that the topics of well-adjusted Chinese individuals are very popular in articles and forum discussions. These seem to create a certain image preferred among Skykiwi users, which sets examples among community members. It may be due to the fact that Chinese diaspora are well integrated into the host society. However, thinking conversely, we may instead surmise that it is due to the fact that Chinese diaspora were not yet adjusted to New Zealand so that such discourses are being frequently made on the internet. No matter what the reason is, “the tendency of setting well-adjusted Chinese examples through online discourse” is distinctive compared with identity claims made by other diasporic groups. Little research to date has pointed to identifying this feature in other diasporic groups or in Chinese diasporic groups in other countries, so this finding can contribute to the literature on the dynamic construction of diasporic identity online.

### ***Contribution to the theory of hybridity***

The overall findings of this study point to a hybrid identity performance among Chinese diaspora on the Skykiwi website. In academic work, diaspora are frequently

seen as oscillating between homeland and the host society. Turner (1969: 95) called it a “liminal position” that is “neither here nor there”; but is “betwixt and between”; and which is “assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial”. From this view, Naficy (1993) described diaspora as “liminal people” who moved away from the home country and may not yet be fully integrated into the country of settlement. Hence, shifting between different cultures and identities might be a frequent experience for members of diaspora in real life in their host societies. This cultural in-betweenness (Tsolidis and Kostogriz, 2008) is also found significantly in discourse produced by Chinese diaspora on Skykiwi.

The findings suggest that members of the Chinese diaspora are capable of shifting between home and host. The naming pattern of social actors in Skykiwi - “New Zealand + Chinese/places of home in China + social actor’s name” is one such example that identity claims among Chinese diaspora are “liminal”, neither wholly Chinese nor New Zealander but in between. In the announcement of the “Auckland Huaren Rugby Team”, social actors regard them as members of an overseas Chinese group and meanwhile also as part-hosts of the “2011 New Zealand Rugby World Cup”. This dual responsibility signals identity in-betweenness among Chinese diaspora. Similarly, shifts between identifications of “foreign lady” and “Maori driver” by the social actor in sample No. 15 again reflect cultural in-betweenness. Furthermore, the widely accepted discourse about using Chinese ways of thinking/making sense of culture in the host country on Skykiwi is evidence that Chinese diaspora are shifting between two cultures. The identity in-betweenness among Chinese diaspora challenges the idea of “assimilation” (e.g. Basch, Glick-Schiller, & Szanton-Blanc, 1994; Levitt & Schiller, 2004) and “melting-pot” theories (e.g. Teske and Nelson, 1974), allowing the co-existence and integration of two or more cultural meaning systems in diaspora.

Though Turkle (1997) argued that the identity formed through the internet is more fragmented since people are likely to occupy multiple identities in cyberspace, Sun

(2002) stated that cyberspace helps diaspora to create a homogeneous sense of Chineseness to reconcile the dilemma of “displacement”, “multiplicity”, and “fragmentation” in their host society. However, in contrast with both arguments, the current study found that Chinese diaspora can be shifting betwixt multiple and homogeneous identity performances. Hybridity in this study appeared, therefore, to be a dynamic or unstable process which serves as a survival strategy for Chinese diaspora to partially integrate.

### ***Contribution to collective internet communications***

Chapter 2 noted that internet communication helps the construction of new social network where “like-minded” people are more likely to interact, connect and support mutually across space and time. Skykiwi is a blend of place-based and interest-based website for online communication where people are linked due to their common places of living and shared identity based on those common places. With Chinese value remained and diasporic background, Skykiwi is a promising site to observe the way how Chinese diaspora make sense of Chineseness-in-New-Zealand in particular ways, and thereby contribute to the study of internet communication as a whole.

The literature shows that although the scholars all shared the same point that “internet communication plays an important role for construction of diaspora’s identity, the findings of these studies were different on what kind of identity they have formed and how these identities were formed. Skykiwi is a particular website where original culture and traditions, transnational life experiences and exploration of new identities become interests and desires among its users. It created a space in which Chinese diaspora could exchange information about the local society to help adaptation, strengthen cultural superiority over local people for social empowerment, share social practice and interest to mutually support and understand. As a result, a Chinese virtual community is formed through online interactions with symbolic claims of strong belongingness to the community, and the predominant discourse on the site suggests a hybrid identity performance. Therefore, even if fragmentation occurs occasionally, the

community mostly shows a feature of collective tendency and consistent solidarity, which is distinctive from other online groups.

Many recent scholars studying identity and internet communication tend to focus on the internet's ability to connect across time and space between individuals, and thereby claim greater "personalization". Instead of this focus, the current study refers to collective online experiences of large-scale social groups - the Skykiwi online community built by Chinese diaspora in New Zealand. The analysis suggested that there is a virtual community constructed through discussions on Skykiwi, which is based on the members' common interests and values. By showing the greater collectiveness, this Chinese virtual community is believed to be distinctive and the study of the community feature will contribute to the knowledge of collective internet communications.

The analysis of this study primarily suggests a centralizing tendency of Chinese diasporic discourse on the Skykiwi website. In the discussion forums, the topic about "fishing in New Zealand" (posting No.1) attracted many participants. What is significant is that all the respondents were expressing their appreciation and admiration towards the activity of "going fishing" that was believed to be characteristic of the local way of life. Similarly, in another discussion about "the extreme love to New Zealand" (posting No. 4), the topic appeared to lead to a flurry of consistent criticisms, and even sharp abuse, towards the poster. As a result, except for a few respondents who showed little sympathy and understanding, most respondents held the same viewpoint that placed China in a superior position to New Zealand. Although their themes differed, the way these discourses were carried out indicates a centralizing tendency within the community.

Although Skykiwi community is based on common values and interests, there are moments that when some values are not shared among all members but are contested. Then fragmentation occurs but at the same time negotiation between different



identities also happens. Taking discussion posting 4 as an example, it was found that there were obvious disagreements and incoherent voices made when the community's acknowledged moral views were challenged. However, it was also found that some community members tried to negotiate between different sides of the debate. The purpose of this negotiation might, I suggested, be for mutual understanding and a sense of reinforcing solidarity within the Chinese community on Skykiwi. Furthermore, discussion about "bad services of Chinese butcher's" (posting No. 5), as well as the article on "Chinese kidnapping crimes" (sample 12), provide evidence of negotiation between different community members. It seems that members of the Chinese diaspora were trying to create a sense of "community" online where inner differences can be softened by negotiation.

According to Mitra (1997a), there are two main forces in diasporic online discourse, the centralizing and fragmenting tendencies. In investigating Chinese diaspora and their use of the internet, the current study indicates that both the centralizing tendency and the fragmenting tendency are found in online discourse on Skykiwi.

### ***Contribution to diasporic Chinese communication***

As I discussed in the literature review, Chinese "social and business organizations", "education systems" and "Chinese-language media" are important pillars in defining Chinese diasporic identity and reinforcing Chinese culture in diasporic communities. However, despite the significance of diasporic Chinese media in overseas Chinese communities, there is a lack of sufficient academic attention to the study of the uses of diasporic media by Chinese diaspora and its implication on discursive constructions of identity and community. The findings of this study particularly contribute to this domain of research by looking at one popular diasporic media network formed by Chinese diaspora in New Zealand where intense online communications occur every day. The landscape of Chinese diaspora's media sphere is complex, which makes it hard to draw all-inclusive conclusions as the situation is varied in different places and different periods, such as local political environment, immigration policy and cultural

background. In order to map the broader landscape of diasporic Chinese communication, we need to study as many contexts as we can to update the existing literature. Due to the Chinese diaspora's wide dispersal in the world and its relatively high percentage of the population in New Zealand, this study makes a contribution to the global Chinese communications by adding New Zealand context.

In addition, the finding of this study manifests the formation of an imagined Chinese virtual community on Skykiwi that generates a strong sense of belonging to cultural China. This finding is consistent with many scholars studying on Chinese diasporic communities, such as Tu (1994), Yang (2003), Sun (2006), Parker and Song (2006), whose focus is on long-term settlers and immigrants. However, it must be admitted that the characteristic of such intense belonging to China in Skykiwi is partly due to the reason that its membership is largely composed of first generation immigrants, new and temporary settlers who still keep strong ties and frequent visits with China. Therefore, as I said in the Introduction, it is my interest to study not just those long-settled Chinese immigrants but also the new and more transient Chinese immigrants (Chinese students etc.) to New Zealand who are not so much part of established Chinese community but still actively engaging in online communications. It is also another contribution made by this thesis to include all members within a community who take part in daily online communications.

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## Appendix A

### *NZ based Chinese websites*

Two types of online spaces: **non-interactive spaces** in the form of online newspapers, magazines and academic journals; **interactive spaces** such as chatrooms, listservs, newsgroups and bulletin board systems (BBS).

#### **Non-interactive:**

##### a. online newspapers

Auckland newspaper: [www.mpages.co.nz](http://www.mpages.co.nz)

Chinese express: [www.chinese-media.co.nz](http://www.chinese-media.co.nz)

New times weekly: [www.newtimesweekly.co.nz](http://www.newtimesweekly.co.nz)

The epoch times: [www.epochtimes.co.nz](http://www.epochtimes.co.nz)

Chinese business times: [www.mingshan.co.nz](http://www.mingshan.co.nz)

Home voice Chinese weekly news: [www.homevoice.co.nz](http://www.homevoice.co.nz)

##### b. online magazines and yellow pages:

##### c. Broadcasting outlets:

World TV (WTV): [www.wtv.co.nz](http://www.wtv.co.nz) (Chinese TV channel)

TCTV: [www.tctv.net](http://www.tctv.net)

Golden raindrop TV:

AM 990:

Chinese voice broadcasting: [www.chinesevoice.co.nz](http://www.chinesevoice.co.nz)

d. Academic journal websites:

[www.stevenyoung.co.nz](http://www.stevenyoung.co.nz)

(According to Google this is the most popular (most cited) website on an admittedly very narrow subject: The Chinese in New Zealand - with content biased towards the Chinese who have been in New Zealand for several generations. )

**Interactive:** [www.168.co.nz](http://www.168.co.nz) Auckland-based, Chinese, Korean and English,

Local new, online columns and forums are the features.

[www.180.co.nz](http://www.180.co.nz) 2002, online subsidiary of the Chinese Times

Group, which runs the magazine 'the Chinese Times' and yellow page 'The Chinese Directory daily, local news, online yellow pages and self-help classifieds.

[www.chinese.net.nz](http://www.chinese.net.nz) informational, and it has well-assorted

messages concerning most aspects of daily lives in NZ.

[www.verychinese.co.nz](http://www.verychinese.co.nz) 2001, concentrate more on mainland

China's news, online yellow pages.

[www.skykiwi.co.nz](http://www.skykiwi.co.nz) well-designed website with a pleasing layout,

three components: the study in NZ Community BBS; the online trade and exchange; loveStage. The first one in particular has

become a most popular online community for the Chinese international students in NZ.

## Appendix B. Data of online articles

### Article 1:

#### 【奥克兰华人橄榄球队公告】

我们-热爱生命;

我们-热爱橄榄球;

我们-旅居新西兰多年;

我们-都是奥克兰华人橄榄球队的一员。

新西兰，山青水色，烟波浩渺。这里是白云的故乡，南半球的翡翠，地球上最后一片净土。橄榄球运动，是新西兰的国家象征，其国家代表队全黑队，胜率在全球最高，其赛前表演的哈卡战舞闻名于世。奥克兰市是新西兰最大的城市，人口占全国的三分之一。除了其不可动摇的商业和工业的中心外，它也是新西兰华人人口最多的城市。

奥克兰华人橄榄球队（奥华队），成立于 2008 年 9 月 28 日，是新西兰奥克兰市有史以来第一支全部由华人组成的橄榄球队，隶属于 North Harbour Marist Rugby Club。球队成立半年来，大家从对橄榄球的不了解，到深深地爱上这项运动，艰辛而令人回味。每位球员在恪尽职守，兢兢业业地完成工作学习的各方面任务外，全身心地投入到了球队训练与比赛中。在此期间，他们都秉承着不抛起，不放弃的响亮口号：发扬着中华民族团结奋进，积极向上的传统美德。通过专业化的组织机构和现代科学的管理模式，引导更多的华人橄榄球爱好者弘扬文明比赛文化，赛出风格赛出水平。独具影响力号召力，构成了一道亮丽的风景线。球队的发展以及壮大，得到了在新华人社社区的高度评价和社会各界的一致肯定。

每一项运动都存在危险性，橄榄球也不例外。但是只要能正确地规范自己的姿势动作，只要能刻苦地钻研基本功，再加上己方队员责无旁贷地支援，运动伤害几率是会降到最低的。或者说 KIWI 们从小就开始玩橄榄球，他们对橄榄球的了解远远的超越了我们，差距是显而易见的，但是我们的热情绝对高涨，我们已经从各个方面做好了全方位的准备。在 09 赛季到来之际，MARIST 俱乐部总部以及奥华队领队婷婷和队长 MAX TONG 对球队的管理理念和发展前景进行了一些展望。他们指出，要把橄榄球当成一项事业来开拓，一项产业来培育，一个企业来管理，一种文化来发展。并对球队未来的发展规划提出三点：

- 1 提高俱乐部的经营管理水平，加强俱乐部的基础设施建设，大力发掘新西兰华人对橄榄球运动的热情和潜能。
2. 将俱乐部带入正规化，步入成熟期。探索出一条立足适合于本地华人，与专业化球队接轨的战略性经营思路。
- 3 加强赛事交流，使奥华队在技术理论水平上逐渐缩小与本土专业球队之间的差距，力争在联赛中取得好的成绩，使奥华队成为奥克兰橄榄球届的亚洲梦之队。

09 年 4 月份，奥克兰乃至全新西兰的各个级别橄榄球队的联赛即将拉开帷幕。奥克兰华人橄榄球队，带着梦想的徽章，杨着信心的风帆即将出征远航。新西兰电视三台著名的时事评论节目《CAMPBELL LIVE》摄制组也专程从上周开始，对奥华队进行采访。而奥华队的首场热身赛，摄制组也将继续进行报道。待录制工作结束后，专题节目将在近期在本地主流媒体黄金时段播出。届时，奥华队将为全华人形象的提升作出我们自己应有的贡献，这也是球队创建的初衷目的。

目前，全体队员都积极地进入备战状态。橄榄球队对于每一位球员而言确实成为了一种精神寄托和信仰，正是这种信仰，他们才做到了“不抛弃，不放弃，奥华永不独行”。全体队员旭日待发，激情澎湃，昂首挺胸来迎接新的挑战。

同时，奥华队以及 MARIST 俱乐部总部诚挚的邀请本地华人，加入和支持自己的首支橄榄球队。希望广大华人一如既往地支持奥华队，也希望全体奥华将士明确目标，团结一致，提高自身素质，在打球的同时赢得全体华人的真心拥戴。促进华人之间与华人体质的和谐发展和提高，让我们共同展现华人正面而积极向上的形象，竭尽全力为华人在海外地位的提高尽显出自己的力量。同时作为东道主，我们也希望为 2011 年新西兰橄榄球

世界杯营造团结，积极，向上的人文环境做出更大的贡献。

我们期待奥克兰华人橄榄球队在新的赛季勇往直前，胜利凯旋！

球队报名请将身高，年龄，体重，联系电话发至：acrtgogo@hotmail.com

<http://bbs.skykiwi.com/frame.php?frameon=yes&referer=http%3A//bbs.skykiwi.com/viewthread.php%3Ftid%3D1086589%26page%3D1%23pid18456186>

### **(Translations) The announcement of Auckland Huaren Rugby Team**

We—love lives

We—love1 Rugby

We—have resided (sojourned) in New Zealand for many years

We—are members of Auckland Huaran Rugby Team

New Zealand is the home country of blue sky with white clouds; is the emerald of south earth; and is the last pure land of the world. Rugby sport is the symbol of New Zealand nation. All Blacks, the national union rugby team, has the highest winning records worldwide, also famous for Haka performance before match. Auckland is the biggest city of New Zealand with 1/3 of national population. Undoubtedly it is not only the centre of business and industry, but also the city with largest New Zealand Huaren population.

Auckland Huaren Rugby Team (“Auhua Team” for short), established on 28th of September 2008 and affiliated to North Harbour Marist Rugby Club, is the first rugby team constituted by huaren in history. Up till now, it has been half the year since establishment. We began from knowing nothing about rugby to loving this sport deeply, with many difficulties in retrospect. Except for finishing personal studies and works, each member has devoted entirely into trainings and contests. During this period, with slogan shouting of “don’t abandon it, don’t give it up”, they have been inspired by Chinese traditional virtues - united, endeavouring, positive and highly - motivated spirits. We have professional institutions and modern scientific management, encouraging more Huaren rugby amateurs to engage in the sport and spread civilized contest culture. With this unique influence and inspiration, the team has developed dramatically, wining high regard and acknowledgment among New Zealand Huaren community.

Each sport has its risk, with no exception for rugby. However, if one could normalize his gesture and movement, keep training and practice, as well as with other team members’ cooperation, the risk of injury will reduce to the lowest point. Kiwis have started playing rugby from childhood and known rugby far more than us, so the disparity is obvious. But we have highly-motivated enthusiasm and sufficient preparations all round. As 2009 season is approaching, headquarter of Marist Club, “Auhua Team” leader Ting Ting, and Captain Max Tong have made a long-term outlook for the future management and development of the team. They have pointed out that rugby should be regarded as a career to explore, an industry to cultivate, an enterprise to manage and a culture to develop. Furthermore, they proposed three points for the future plan:

1. Enhancing the level of management and infrastructure of the club, exploring the enthusiasm and potentiality of New Zealand Huaren toward rugby
2. Leading the Club into normalization and maturation phase, finding a way of operation which

will link the local Huaren and professional team together

3. Strengthening contest communication so as to shorten the disparity with local professional team, trying to do a good job in approaching season to become ‘Asian dream team’ in the Auckland rugby field

In April 2009, rugby league matches from all levels in Auckland as well as whole New Zealand will begin. Auckland Huaren Rugby Team will start the journey with dreamed badges and confidence. “Campbell Live”, the famous TV programme of channel 3, started to interview “Auhua Team” from last week. The programme team will also continue to report on the first warming match of “Auhua Team”. After that the feature programme will be broadcasted through the local mainstream media during the prime time. At that time, “Auhua Team” will be able to help enhance the entire Huaren images, which is also the initial purpose to establish this rugby team.

Currently all Auhua members have actively engaged in the preparation for coming matches. Rugby Team becomes a belief for each member and it is exactly this belief that has supported them to insist on - “don’t abandon, don’t give it up, Auhua will never be alone” (Slogan). All team members are now ready for new challenges.

Meanwhile, Auhua Team and Marist Club sincerely invite local Huaren to join and support our own first rugby team. On one hand, we hope Huaren to support “Auhua Team” as usual, and on the other hand, “Auhua Team” will do everything to improve its own quality in order to win all Huarens’ supports. We will also try our best to accelerate the harmonious development between Huaren and their body-building, to demonstrate the positive and highly motivated images of Huaren, and to enhance the social status of all overseas Huaren. Moreover, as the host of the “2011 New Zealand Rugby World Cup”, we also hope to make our own contributions to establish a united, positive and upbeat match environment in New Zealand.

We are looking forward to seeing the bravery and victory of Auckland Huaren Rugby Team!

If anyone who wants to join the team, please send the details of your height, age, weight and contact phone numbers to: [acrtgogo@hotmail.com](mailto:acrtgogo@hotmail.com)

## Article 2:

### 新西兰汕头籍作家林爽研究毛利文化让她蜚声海外

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毛利文化与华夏文化、新西兰与汉俳诗……这些似乎让人难以联系在一起的事物，却因为旅居新西兰的汕头籍作家林爽而紧密地联系在一起。

近日，趁着林爽回家乡汕头市澄海区探亲之机，记者走近这位人如其名、如同清爽和风的林爽女士，倾听她的传奇。

#### 潮汕女儿蜚声新西兰

林爽出生于澄海，童年随父母移居香港。1990年，她随丈夫从东方明珠的香港移居白云之乡的新西兰。现任奥克兰大学教育学院双语教育顾问及讲师，并利用业余时间担任中文先驱报《爽心悦目》的版主。作为潮汕的女儿，潮汕人对其知之不多，但作为一位华人移民，她在新西兰却是赫赫有名的。

汉俳，是在1980年5月中外诗歌交流中产生的一个新品种，小巧玲珑，抒情喻理，可韵可白，亦可连作。今年10月底，林爽来到了湖南长沙，在长沙新闻大厦举行《林爽汉俳》的首发式。林爽的这本书是新西兰华人中最早的一部汉俳诗集，也是中华诗歌汉俳园地的海外奇葩。



林爽是一位多才多艺的作家，她用“阿爽”的笔名，创作了《儿童寓言故事》、《学前教育最轻松》、《新西兰的活泼教育》、《纽西兰名人传》等多部中英文对照的著作。

在异域立身处世，林爽高举中华文化旗帜闯天下，获得了众多荣誉。1999年，林爽获得了由奥克兰市长颁发的“新西兰职业华人成就奖”。2000年，中国国务院侨务办公室颁授“海外优秀华文教育工作者”荣誉称号给林爽。2006年，林爽获得英国女皇勋章，新西兰总督 Silvia Cartwright 女爵代表英国女皇伊丽莎白二世亲手向她颁奖，以表彰她于过去十多年间在服务社会、促进不同种族间的文化交流和沟通、文学创作、学术研究、教育理论与实践等领域所做出的卓越贡献。

#### 为种族融合架桥搭线

1998年，世界上第一部中文原著《新西兰的原住民》在新西兰引起轰动，该书详尽介绍了新西兰土著毛利人的神话、传说、婚姻、家庭、称谓、宴会、禁规、驱邪、迁徙、选举、战争等多方面的历史文化和习俗，是一部精彩的毛利人史诗。书的作者，正是林爽。

从香港移民到新西兰后，已经40岁的林爽报考了奥克兰大学，在入学面试时，一位毛利人主考官问她：“你对《怀唐依条约》有何看法？”，《怀唐依条约》是1840年英国派驻新西兰总督与毛利人首领签订的条约。作为新移民，林爽无法回答考官这个问题，她只好向考官许诺，如果被录取一定会认真学习当地历史文化。林爽认为在新西兰的华人社会里，华人较少关心及融入当地社会。其实居住在新西兰的任何种族，绝对无法摆脱毛利文化及历史的影响。因为这个原因，也因为对毛利人考官的郑重承诺，林爽开始了研究毛利社会、历史、传统、文化的研究。

这一兴趣对于一般华人来说，也许有点匪夷所思。但林爽深信以中华文化精神融入异国主流社会的风土人情所写成的作品，不但比追寻乡愁或风花雪月更有意义，也将是消除种族隔阂、拨除民族之间误解的良方妙药。

在研究当中，林爽发觉毛利文化传统与中国文化相似点颇多，可从来没有华人移民重视过，自己既然有机会及兴趣学习，何不做一个先行者。功夫不负有心人，经过几年的努力，1998年，一部长达15万字的《新西兰的原住民》终于面世了，引起了当地主流社会的轰动，还得到新西兰国家图书馆及国会图书馆收藏，被誉为首本以中文写成的毛利文化专著。林爽这部新书面世后不久，新西兰的研究人员就通过DNA证明，毛利人的祖先来自中国。

#### 身体力行倡导环保

在林爽送给朋友的自制书签上，她明言笔耕是她的业余爱好，环保是她关心的课题。2002年4月，林爽与一群志同道合的朋友组成了“华人环保教育信托基金”，带领社区的华人移民植树，向小朋友讲解环保常识，努力改变西方人认为华人不环保的坏印象。2003年6月，荣获了新西兰环境部颁发的“绿丝带奖”及奥克兰市议会颁授“保护环境奖”。

#### 义务办班教华人英语

一部分华人新移民因为语言的障碍，不能很好地与当地人士交流，从而不能进入主流社会，也受到了歧视。林爽认为，与其抱怨别人种族歧视，不如自己积极谋求解决办法。于是她利用周末工余时间，在家的附近创办“东区语言交流园地”，义务为华人传授英语，组织不同种族的人们和谐沟通。一人力量显单薄，她便登报召集义务洋教师。不到一年，学员已达百人，引起了当地华文与英文报纸记者的兴趣和关注，纷纷前来采访报道。这个“东区语言交流园地”让洋人们对华人传统习俗增加了了解，消除了认为华人固步自封的认识，成为了奥克兰市一个华人与洋人融洽相处的园地。

## (Translations) Renowned overseas for researching Maori culture: New Zealand Shantou writer Lin Shuang

(Date: 2008-12-02 09:36:01 Readership: 232 Sources: Special Region Evening)

Maori Culture and Chinese culture, New Zealand and “Han Pai” (Haiku poetry Han)..., which seem to be mutually irrelevant issues, but are linked closely because of Shantou writer Lin Shuang sojourned in New Zealand.

Recently Lin Shuang has returned Shantou to visit family, so the reporter could approach this benignant lady and listen to her story.

### *The daughter of Shantou renowned in New Zealand*

Lin Shuang was born in Chenghai and moved to Hongkong with her parents when she was a child. In 1990, she moved to the country of white clouds—New Zealand with her husband from the eastern pearl-Hongkong. Now she is the bilingual adviser and lecturer in Education College of

Auckland University. Moreover, she is the editor of “Shuang xin yue mu” in Chinese herald newspaper in her spare time. As the daughter of Shantou, local people don’t know much about her. But as a Huaren immigrant, she is very famous in New Zealand.

“Han Pai” was a new type generated from the communication of eastern and western poetry in May of 1980, small and exquisite, lyrical or reasonable, Rhymed or narrative. At the end of October this year, Lin Shuang came to Changsha (Hunan Province), holding the premier of the book “Lin Shuang Han Pai” in Changsha News Tower. This book is the earliest “Han Pai Poetry” written by New Zealand Huaren and the pearl of Chinese Poetry overseas.

Lin Shuang is also a versatile writer. She created “Children’s Fable”, “Pre-school education easiest”, “New Zealand’s Lively Education”, “New Zealand Celebrities” and many other bilingual (Chinese and English) books.

Living in the exotic society, Lin Shuang holds high the banner of Chinese culture and received numerous honors. In 1999, Lin Shuang won the “New Zealand Professional Achievement Award of Huaren”, granted by the mayor of Auckland. In 2006, Lin Shuang won the British Queen’s Medal. The Baroness Silvia Cartwright, New Zealand Governor, awarded Lin Shuang the Medal on behalf of Queen Elizabeth II for her outstanding contributions to many fields including social services, culture communications between different ethnicity, literature creation, academic research, education and empirical work in the past ten years.

#### *Liaison of communications between different ethnicity*

In 1998, the first Chinese edition in the world “New Zealand Indigenous People” aroused great repercussions in New Zealand. The book introduced with details about New Zealand Indigenous people –Maori and their legend, tradition, marriage, family, name title, ceremony, ban regulation, exorcising, migration, election, war and other cultures. It is like a wonderful Maori historical poem written by Lin Shuang.

After she moved to New Zealand, Lin Shuang applied to study in Auckland University on her forties. In the enrolment interview, a Maori examiner asked her, “What do you think about ‘Treaty of Waitangi’”? “Treaty of Waitangi” was signed by British governor in New Zealand and the head of Maori people in 1840. As a new immigrant, Lin Shuang was not able to answer this question. But she promised that she would learn the local history and culture with hardworking if she could be accepted. Lin Shuang thought that Huaren Community in New Zealand didn’t know much about local history and society. However, the fact is that any ethnicity living in New Zealand must have been influenced by the culture of Maori somehow. For this reason as well as the promise she made to the examiner, Lin Shuang began her research on the Maori society, history, tradition and culture.

It may be hard for Huaren generally to understand this interest in Maori people. However, Lin Shuang believes that the literature with Chinese culture integrated into New Zealand mainstream culture is more meaningful than the nostalgic topic, which is also like the recipe to prevent the racial misunderstanding and cure racial barriers.

During the research, Lin Shuang found that Maori culture share many things in common with Chinese culture, which Huaren immigrants seldom paid attention to. So it was now her opportunity to study in this field as a pioneer. After several years' efforts, a 150,000-word-book "New Zealand Indigenous People" was published in 1998, arousing great repercussions in New Zealand and collected in New Zealand National Library as well as in Parliament Library. The book was also awarded "the first monograph of Maori culture written by Chinese". Not long after the publication, the New Zealand researchers certified through DNA that the ancestors of Maori people are from China.

#### *Personally promoting environmental protection*

On the bookmarks given to her friends, Lin Shuang said that writing is her sideline while environmental protection is what she really cares. Lin Shuang and some friends with the same wish established "Huaren environmental protection and education trust fund" in April of 2002. They helped neighborhood Huaren to plant trees and teach knowledge of environmental protection to children, which is greatly changing western people's images towards Huaren since Huaren were thought to be not care about environment at all. In June of 2003, Lin Shuang won the "Green Ribbon Award" from New Zealand Environment department and "Environmental Protection Award" from Auckland city council.

#### *Running classes for free to teach Chinese in English*

Part of the new Chinese immigrants is not able to have good communication with local people due to the language barriers. They feel difficult to integrate into the mainstream society and are even discriminated against sometimes. Lin Shuang believes that it is better to actively seek solutions instead of complaining about racial discrimination. So in the spare time on weekends, she voluntarily held "language communication corner in eastern district" near her home, teaching Huaren English and organizing the harmonious communication among people of different races. Later on she recruited New Zealand teachers from the newspaper advertisement due to the limitation of one person's power. Within less than a year, the number of participants has reached 100, which caused the concerns and interests from local Chinese and English media. This "language communication corner in eastern district" helped New Zealanders to better understand Chinese traditions and cultures, eliminate the misunderstanding that the Chinese are stuffy, and become a place of harmonious communication for Chinese and New Zealanders in Auckland.

### **Article 3:**

#### **Beijing or Christchurch, It Is A Question**

The first time when I got Christchurch.....

I never thought one day I would stay here

Come on it is some place too far away from home!

Not my destination!...

One day, I suddenly start realizing

I've come to this land for eight years...  
My DAMN GOOD EIGHT YEARS! .....

I start asking myself  
Isn't it another hometown for me?

Surely I stayed in Beijing much longer  
It occupied two third of my life so far  
But I have to say....  
The time I have spent in Christchurch  
My twenty something---  
Might be the best time in my whole life

I used to think.....  
Oh I must go home as soon as I finish my studies!  
But gradually, I'm changing my mind..

I immigrated  
I continued studying.....  
I got a job  
I want to get married here...

I know that.....  
I become loving it so much!.....  
The Garden City

.....  
Many people think it's a boring place  
Well I think it depends on how you look at it  
How you feel it.....

I love the clouds here.....  
Turning pinky before dusk.....  
Filling up the sky

I love the beaches here.....  
Couples hands in hands....  
Dogs running, kids laughing

I love the gardens here.....  
Daffodils and magnolias blossom in Spring.....  
Gingko and maple leaves glow in Autumn.....

I love the cafe here.....  
Located in vintage houses.....  
Served with smiles

I love riding a tram  
I love punting on Avon.....  
I love night view above Cashmere.....  
I love morning light in Hagley.....  
I love Banks Peninsula.....  
I love Canterbury Plain.....  
I love.....

There is too much beauty about the city  
And too many memories of my life here

Now, Beijing or Christchurch.....  
It is a question.....  
Probably going to be the hardest I've ever encountered.....  
One day I must go back  
I MUST  
Back to Mum and Dad  
Back to where I was from.....  
Back to the place I love most.....

But before that  
I dream to  
See more clouds  
Get more sunshine.....  
Pick up more stones.....  
Feed more cats

Have more afternoon tea

Take more photos of flowers

In this place.....

Called Christchurch....

#### Article 4:

##### 新西兰买鞋要用处方:

中国有句俗话: ‘鞋合不合适’。只有脚知道了新西兰才发现, 鞋合不合适, 医生更清楚。

新西兰有好几家鞋店, 专门卖 ‘健康鞋’。其中一家专卖女鞋的鞋店老板介绍, 鞋对于人们的健康非常重要, 穿得不对, 很可能会对身体造成伤害, 尤其是那些脚部有病的人。如何选鞋更是一门学问, 需要接受医生的专业指导。

我的一位朋友患了糖尿病, 于是她在买鞋前去了医院。医生对她的脚进行了一番全面的检查, 包括是否受伤, 是否有关节炎、脚趾外翻, 外形是瘦长还是扁平, 有没有八字脚、脚气等疾病。医生还测量了腿部、脚部以及脊椎等一些数据。完成检查后, 医生问朋友, 以往都穿什么样的鞋, 感觉如何。然后他把检查结果都列在处方上, 还写了一些买鞋建议, 如选择有鞋带的鞋, 以加强对脚部的支撑力; 尽量选择布质鞋, 鞋子要柔软, 不宜太重。

朋友拿着这张处方来到鞋店, 店员参考上面的数据和建议, 为朋友推荐了 3 款鞋, 店员一面让她一一试穿, 一面告诉她, 这些鞋是根据处方选出来的, 能针对哪些问题。最后, 朋友从中选了一双。店员告诉她, 穿鞋时应注意保持脚部卫生和温暖, 同时建议朋友定期到医生那里检查。

#### (Translations) Buying “shoe” needs prescription in New Zealand: shoes comfortable or not, doctors know better!

(Date: 2009-10-13 12:33:34 Read: 513 Source: Haixia dushi newspaper)

There is an old saying in China that “shoe comfortable or not, only your feet know”. When come to New Zealand, it is found that “shoe comfortable or not, doctors know better.”

There are many shoes shops in New Zealand which only sell “healthy shoes”. One owner of the women shoes shop introduced that “shoes are very important for people’s health. If you are not wearing the right shoes, it may do harm to your body, especially to those who have pedopathy”. Choosing the right shoes is a kind of knowledge, which needs the doctor’s professional advice.

A friend of mine who has diabetes mellitus went to hospital just before she bought shoes. The doctor made an overall examination of her feet, including whether they have arthritis, or toes turning out, whether they are flat or bowlike, whether they have dermatophytosis or other illnesses. The doctor also measured some figures of her legs and feet. After examination, the doctor asked my friend what kind of shoes she used to wear and how she felt. Then the doctor listed the results of examination on the prescription and also wrote down some advices for choosing shoes, for instance, it is better to buy shoes having bootlace in order to reinforce holding power; and it is better to choose shoes made of cloth, which will be smooth and not heavy.

My friend went to the shoes shop with the prescription. According to the figures and advices of prescription, the shop staff recommended three styles of shoes to my friend. The staff told her that these shoes are selected according to the advice and different style aims to treat the different illness. Eventually, my friend chose one pair from them. The staff also suggested that she needs to

keep feet clean and warm, and go to doctors for examination frequently.

## Article 5:

### 中国留学生在新西兰用感冒药做原料提炼制造毒品被遣返

日期:2009-06-30 14:11:06 阅读: 5408 来源:京华时报

本报讯 (记者穆奕 通讯员刘兴和) 前天,北京边检总站遣返所接到被新西兰警方遣返回国的中国留学生夏某。夏某由于在留学期间伙同他人制造毒品在国外获刑 5 年,服刑达到规定期限后被遣返回国。

前天上午, NZ87 次航班降落在首都机场,在新西兰警方的押送下,一名 5 年前飞往新西兰留学的男子走下飞机,被边检民警接回遣返所。看着夏某本人和护照上的照片对比,“简直看不出是一个人。”边检民警说,夏某刚刚 20 多岁,他本人比照片上像是老了 10 多岁,面无表情地坐在边检审查室里。

夏某说,他 2004 年以留学的名义前往新西兰,在学校里结识了一些早先出国的中国留学生。2005 年初的一天,夏某和几名同学聚会时,有人提到说从某种治疗感冒的药品中可以提炼‘毒品’的事。他们便想“如果真能制造出毒品来,还可以卖给其他人赚点外快。”没过几天,他们找来了制毒工具,在夏某的租住地开始尝试做起毒品来。要达到制毒的目的,需要大量药物作为提炼的原料,可他们自己所带的药品又太少,几人让国内的家人或亲友将这种药物大量寄往国外。

在半年的时间里,他们经过一次又一次的实验,终于“修成正果”。接下来,他们的行为一发不可收拾,“生意”也越做越大,直到有一天被他人举报,夏某和几个同学因制造 C 类毒品(用某种治疗感冒的药品提炼而成的),在其住所遭当地警方逮捕。在此后的两年多时间里,夏某和几名同学放弃了学业,请律师打官司。2008 年初,夏某和几名同学因犯制造、贩卖毒品罪被当地法院判处 5 至 8 年徒刑。

由于当地的法律规定,外籍人员获刑,服刑期限达到三分之一后,便可以遣送回国。所以,夏某于前天被当地警方遣送回中国。

## (Translations) Chinese student was repatriated because of using coldrex to produce drug in New Zealand

(Date: 2009-06-30 14:11:06 Readers: 5408 Sources: Jinghua Times)

The day before yesterday, the Beijing border control office accepted the Chinese student Xia ×× who was repatriated by New Zealand police. Xia ×× was serving a sentence of five years in New Zealand due to producing drugs during his study abroad and was repatriated after he finished the prison term.

On the morning of the day before yesterday, NZ 87 flight landed in the Beijing Capital airport. Under the escort of New Zealand police, a man who went to New Zealand as an international student five years ago now walked down the plane and was soon taken back to border control office. Looking at the man in real and the photo on the passport, “it is hard to believe they are the same man”, said the Chinese police, “Xia ×× is just over 20 years old, but he looks ten years older than the photo and he sat in the office without any expression on his face.”

Xia said, he went to New Zealand as an international student in 2004 and met some other Chinese students who came earlier in the university. One day in 2005, Xia had a party with his course mates and someone mentioned that the element of certain coldrex could be extracted for “drug”. Then they thought they could make much money by producing the drug. Several days later, they brought in the equipment and made a try to produce drug in Xia’s house. It needs large amount of flu medicine as material to produce drug. But the number they could bring abroad was too little, so they asked their family and relatives to post large amount of medicine from China to New Zealand for many times.

In a half year time, they made the drug finally after many times of experiment. After that, they couldn't stop to do it and the "business" was becoming bigger and bigger until they were reported by someone. Xia and his course mates were arrested by the local police because of making drug C (drug C means it was made by the element of flu medicine). In two years later on, Xia and his course mates had to drop their study and hired the lawyer for this lawsuit. On the beginning of 2008, Xia and his course mates received the sentences of 5 to 8 years in prison due to making and selling drug.

According to the local law, after a foreigner completes one third of total sentence, he/she could be was repatriated to home country. Therefore, Xia was repatriated to China by New Zealand police the day before yesterday.

## Article 6:

### 透视新西兰华人婚姻现状

日期:2004-11-05 13:00:00 阅读: 170 来源:新民侨报

一代文化名士钱钟书先生曾经把婚姻比作“围城”：城里面的人想逃出来；城外面的人想冲进去。也许这就是现实生活给人们所置予的尴尬矛盾吧。那么，海外华人的婚姻又是怎样的酸甜苦辣呢？

前日，一位好友给笔者致电问候，交谈中她感慨自己的生意伙伴突然诀别新西兰，返回中国。一时间生意只能由自己打点，搞得心力交瘁。我咋一听，倍感突兀。——“你的那个生意伙伴不是三个月前刚刚在新西兰与一个本地华裔结婚吗？”朋友淡淡一笑地说：“离婚了！而且也不理睬新西兰关于离婚需要分居两年的规定，一走了之。”笔者听后足足愣了半晌。不是因为自己思想陈旧腐化，只是霎时觉得这“围城”好似菜市场一般，出入得也太随意了。

部分海外华人婚姻传出的嘈杂不和谐之音，时时不绝于耳。有的甚至是几易其夫或其妻了。这种海外婚姻的不稳定，与其所处的社会环境有着直接的关系。华人夫妇移民海外，婚姻首先面临的就是安家立业的生存挑战。正所谓“贫贱夫妻百事哀”，当工作没有着落，靠着出国前的积蓄或是本地救济度日的时候，婚姻所笼罩的现实困窘，难免使得夫妻两人为“柴米油盐水电费”而发生争执。再深厚的感情也耐不住这日复一日生活压力的侵蚀。分道扬镳似乎顺理成章地成为一种无言的结局。再者，具有相似英语基础、专业水准的华人夫妇，携手出国之后，女性掌握语言的进步速度和适应全新环境的能力，平均而言，要优于男性。而且，对于外来移民，女性实际的就业范围和机会，也高于男性。因此，很多华人移民家庭出现与出国前相反的“婚姻分工格局”——从“男主外，女主内”骤然变成“女主外，男主内”。客观地讲，在普遍的社会心理和个体心理上，女人包容男人不如自己远比男人包容女人不如自己困难得多。当一些华人移民夫妇，出现“妻子挣钱养家，丈夫无事在家”的巨大长久反差之后，婚姻的围城随之所弥漫的自然是四面楚歌。另外，移民海外的华人夫妇，在磨合新环境的日常工作生活中，由于对新世界的不同认知，难免发生这样那样的磕磕碰碰。远离了亲朋好友，得不到及时的调和与劝解，在“和则聚，不和则散”的现代西方婚姻理念影响下，华人移民婚姻受到前所未有的致命挑战。

当然，纵观海外华人移民，恩爱互助、携手创业的夫妇大有人在。而且在共同的奋斗艰辛中所凝结的夫妻之情，是刻骨铭心的，也是人生的一种宝贵财富。诚然，失去了感情的婚姻，是枯燥的，甚至是令人窒息的。然而，夫妻双方，遇到困难，应该相互理解，共同面对。万不可意气用事，草率行事。

人在海外，和谐幸福的婚姻，不仅是生活的一种愉悦，更是精神的一种鼓舞。“家和万事兴”，愿海外华人珍视自己的婚姻，创建幸福的生活，实现自我的梦想。

## (Translations) Perspectives on the Marriage Situation of New Zealand Huaren

(Date: 2004-11-05 13:00:00 Readership: 170 Source: Xinminqiao Newspaper)

A famous Chinese writer Mr. Zhongshu Qian used to describe marriage as “fortress besieged” (“Fortress Besieged” is a book written by Mr. Zhongshu Qian who said that marriage is like besieging a fortress that the people inside wish to go out , while those outside wish to get in). Maybe it is the real life which leaves people in such dilemma. Then, what is the happiness or



sadness of marriage for overseas Chinese?

A few days ago, a friend called me, telling that her business partner made a sudden decision to leave New Zealand forever and come back China. So the friend had to take over the business on her own and she was almost exhausted because of it. It is much unexpected for me to hear the news since my friend's partner just got married with a local Huayi three months ago. But my friend told me, "They got divorced. My partner just left the country, totally ignoring the New Zealand regulation that the couple must live separately for two years before getting divorced". I froze for a while when I heard it. Not because of my conservative views, but I only feel this "fortress besieged"/marriage is like a supermarket that it is so easy for them to go in and out.

It is very often to hear problems in overseas' Chinese marriages. Sometimes they even change wives and husbands for several times. This unstable situation of overseas' marriages have direct relations with the social environment. The challenge for survival is the first thing that Chinese couples have to face after going overseas. There is an old Chinese saying that "everything goes wrong for the poor couple". When the couples are unsettled with their work, or when they make live by the savings they had before going abroad or even by the local relief fund, such embarrassment of marriage in reality could inevitably arouse disputes for daily trivia. No matter how deep affection the Chinese couples have, their marriages could hardly bear the erosion of the stress in the life. Then separation seems logical to become a taciturn result. Furthermore, for Chinese couples going abroad who have similar English language and professional background, females averagely tend to better master the language and adjust new environment than males. Besides, for immigrants, the women usually have higher employment opportunities than men. Therefore, many immigrant families appear to have the opposite pattern in marriage - "men go out to work while women look after the house", suddenly becoming "women go out to work while men look after the house". Objectively speaking, it is easy for men to accept that they have more successful career than their wives, while it is far more difficult for women to accept that they have more successful career than their husbands. When the situation that "wives go out to make money, husbands stay at home without job" appear in the Chinese immigrant couples, their "marriage fortress" become "besieged" by crisis. On the other side, due to the differences in adjusting to the new environment and cognition the new world, the immigrant Chinese couples inevitably have many problems in their relationships. Moreover, away from friends and relatives and without their timely reconciliation, the Chinese immigrants have to face unprecedented challenge of marriage.

Of course there are also many immigrant Chinese couples who are mutually affectionate and work hard together. The love between husband and wife forming through the common hardworking is unforgettable, and it is a valuable asset in their whole life as well. Indeed, loss of feelings of marriage is boring and even suffocating. However, the couples should understand each other and face it together when they encounter difficulties. It is not right to act in haste.

For people overseas, harmonious and happy marriage is not only a pleasure of life, but also an inspiration of the spirit. "A harmonious family thrives" is a popular saying in China. Wish all immigrant Chinese couples cherishing their marriage, creating happy life and achieving your own dreams.

## Article 7:

### 留学生感悟：来新第一课让我感受到新西兰特殊的人性化关怀

日期:2010-09-13 11:08:03 阅读: 1467 来源:中广教育

2004年7月，我离开西安，进入新西兰奥克兰理工大学学习，感受最深的是该校对学生自我保护意识的重视。

开学第一天，照例是在奥克兰市中心的大礼堂举行开学典礼。进礼堂时，每个同学都领到一个塑料手提袋，里面有课程资料、学校地图、教授简介、学校日历，还有一个小白信封，信封上写着“your life saver pack”(你的救命包)。

在学校负责人简短的演说后，上来了一个老太太，她自我介绍名叫苏珊，是学校的护士，在这里介绍一些对每位学生都很重要的信息。她请大家从手提袋里拿出那个小白信封，并且打开。我看到里面放着几张花花绿绿的纸片，一个小锡纸包和两片白色药片。经苏珊介绍，我得知那是一个避孕套和两片避孕药。纸片上写的是，如果遇到意外怀孕或者其它的骚扰，可以给你提供帮助的方法。

苏珊说，去年在新西兰有19人确诊感染了艾滋病，比上一年多了6个人。所以使用避孕套对自己和别人都很重要。她还说如果大家需要避孕套，请到医务室来找她拿，完全是免费的。如果意外怀孕或需要咨询，护士们也很乐意提供帮助并绝对保密。

纸片上有一句话让我感受颇深：毒瘾，强奸，性暴力在每个人身上都有可能发生，无论你有什么年纪什么性别，如果发生在你身上，请记住这不是你的错。

纸片上还详细介绍了去酒吧或舞会时，如何防止被坏人在酒水里下药等其他自我防范知识。

这是我在新西兰上大学第一天的第一堂课，这种特殊的人性化关怀让我感到非常新奇。

### (Translations) Overseas student's sense of the first class in New Zealand - full of special human care

(Date: 2010—09—13 11:08:03 Readership: 1467 Source: Zhongguang Education)

In July, 2004, I left Xi'an and entered Auckland University of Technology in New Zealand for study. One of the deepest feelings for me is the University's emphasis on students' self-protection awareness.

On the first day, the opening ceremony was held as usual in the auditorium of Auckland city centre. When we enter into the auditorium, each student received a plastic bag which contained course materials, campus maps, professor introductions, university calendar, and a small white envelope written “your life saver pack” on it.

After a short speech from university's representative, an old lady came. She told us her name is Susan, the university nurse, and she would introduce some very important information for each student in the following part. Then she invited everyone to take out the white envelope from the bag and opened it. I saw there were a few colorful pieces of paper, a small aluminum foil package and two white pills. From Susan's introduction, I knew it was a condom and two contraceptives. What was written on the paper is that if an accidental pregnancy or other harassment happen, it will give you help.

Susan said that there were 19 New Zealand people confirmed infected with AIDS last year, 6 people more than the year before. Therefore the use of condoms is very important to others as well as to you. She also said that if anyone who need condoms, please go to the campus infirmary and she would give them for free. Besides, if anyone who need advices on accidental pregnancy, the nurse would be very pleasing to provide help and keep your privacy.

I felt deeply impressed about one sentence on the paper: Drug, rape, sexual violence could happen on everyone, no matter your age and your gender. But if it happens to you, please remember this is not your fault.

The content of the paper also described in details on the self-protection awareness when in the pub or the party, for instance how to prevent bad people to put drugs in your drinks.

This is the first class of college I have had in New Zealand and I felt amazing about this special human care.

## Article 8:

### 新西兰的交通发达 但能否少些"NO EXIT" 多一些开心之路

作者:邵泽成 日期:2010-09-09 09:53:43 阅读: 1546 来源:华文文化沙龙

能否少一些“NO EXIT” 新西兰的交通是较发达的，但是美中不足的是许多道路的路牌上都标有“NO EXIT”字样。如果展开交通地图看看，你就会发现有很多这样的“盲肠”。NO EXIT，意思是“此路不通”，如果用中国人常用的话来说就是“断头路”，“死胡同”。而这些路一般并不短，大都在一二百米以上。而这样的宽阔大路却走不通，你说冤枉不冤枉。只供这条上的住户使用，使用率也太低了，它并不是仅供少数几家车辆车进出的“lane”，太浪费资源了。

偏偏给生财有道的房产中介商看上了这样的道路，美其名曰“无尾静街”。实际是交通不便，却反而借此提高房价，真让人弄不懂。

有些年轻人会说，纽国家家家都有汽车，开车多绕点路无所谓。我说此言差矣！这样说至少缺乏三点常识：一是近总比远好。记得从前有数学老师讲课时曾这样风趣地说过，“两点之间以直线为最短，狗都知道（丢块食物它会直线过去吃，不会绕弯子过去）。那么，连狗都知道的道理，为什么有的人却不知道呢？二是省油总比费油好。开车多绕路，必然多费油。人性都是一样的，任何人的车加满油后，总不希望老把油消耗在无谓的绕路上。一次不多，十次不少，一个不多，十个不少。尤其在不景气的大环境下，普通人要算一下这个帐，政府更应算算大帐。三是省时总比费时好。有时开车出去上班或办事购物，本来5-10分钟即可到达，但绕路大圈加上堵车却要花20-30分钟才能到达，次数多了谁不急？不是说“time is money”吗？当然，有的人会说出来，有的人却保持沉默，因循守旧。“鸦雀无声”，不代表没有问题。

笔者却要站出来大声疾呼，能否少一些“No Exit”道路？

我举一个例子。在西区有一条 NO EXIT 道路叫“MIRIAM CORBAN HTS”将近 200 米长，可并行 3-4 辆车，可几乎整天都静悄悄的。人走到路的内端向前看，HENDERSON PARK 的红色铁桥就在眼前，HENDERSON 镇上的桔红色商场大楼也近在咫尺，只要穿过几十米的住宅围栏就可直达。可是要去镇上购物的话，只能向后走，出去到 VITAGE DR 向左转 90 度，到达 SURGES RD 再右转 90 度后再走不是快回到“原位”了吗？是的，这就是新西兰的怪现象，接近原位而不同，一擦而过再向东，经过 LINCOLN RD 南端路口的五岔路口再向向下坡才能到 HENDERSON 镇上。也就是说，几十米的距离不打通，非要让人多绕几公里的冤枉路。多少年这样，多少地方也这样，请算算这笔帐吧！

有些地方我也发现过，两个庭院之间用铁丝网隔出来的通向一个公园或另一条大路的“WALK WAY”，这才是方便群众的“开心之路”，希望这样的路多一点。

**(Translations) New Zealand has advanced transportation systems. But if less “No Exit”, then more “Fun Road” there will be.**

(Author: Zecheng Shao Date: 2010-09-09 09:53:43 Readers: 1546 Source: Chinese culture Salon)

New Zealand's transportation systems are highly developed, but only that many road signs marked “No Exit”. If you look at the whole traffic map, you will find a lot of such “appendix”. “No Exit” means this road is blocked in the end. If described it in Chinese, it will be “Duantou Lu” or “dead end”. Generally these roads are not short, usually above one or two hundred meters. It is a great shame that you can't use such a broad road to drive across. What a waste of resources and a low utilization rate that only a few cars from the road households use the “lane” to get in and out.

However, the property agencies seem to be just favor of such road and call it “Quiet Street with no end”. With the fact that the traffic is not convenient, the property agencies instead raise house price in such location, which is not understandable at all.

Some young people would say every family in New Zealand has cars so it is not much matter that they drive more over the road. I said there are at least three points lack of common sense in this statement. First, near is always better than far. I remembered a math teacher used to joking that, “straight line is the shortest distance between two points and even a dog know it (if you throw some food, the dog will go straight to it instead of detouring). Then why some people don’t know the logic that even a dog knows? Second, saving petrol is better than wasting. More drive causes more petrol. People are the same after filling up the car-- they don’t like consuming the petrol on the unnecessary detouring. Maybe one trip or one person doesn’t cost much money, but what about ten trips or ten persons? Especially in today’s economic depression circumstance, the average people better count this small bill and the government should calculate the large bill. Third, waste of time is unnecessary as well. Usually it takes 5-10 minutes for drive to work or shopping. But it will take 20-30 minutes to get the destination if making detouring or meeting traffic jam. Then it is natural to be angry if more such things happen. Don’t you always hear that “time is money”? Of course some people will stand out while other may keep silent. But quiet doesn’t mean “no problems”.

So I’ll stand out and ask aloud, “could we have a little less “No Exit”?”

Let me give an example. There is a “No Exit” road in western district called “Miriam Coroban HTS” which is almost 200 meters long and allowing 3-4 cars to pass parallel. But it is very quiet all day long. When you get to the end of this road, you could see the red iron bridge of Henderson Park and the orange Henderson mall just in front of you. It is only several meters” house fences to cross. But for shopping in Henderson town, you can only turn back, making a 90° turn left at Vitage DR, then making a 90° turn right at Surges RD. You may ask is this way almost returning to the starting point. Yes, this is the strange situation in New Zealand, close to the starting point but not the same. You just pass it and continuously go east, cross southern end of Lincoln Road and go downhill towards east. Finally, you can get to Henderson town. In other words, you have to drive extra 1000 meters for only several meters distance due to this “No Exit” road. It is a common situation for many years and many places. So please calculate this bill now!

I also found that there is a way with barbed wire on both sides between the two courtyards, leading to a park or another main road, called “Walk Way”. This is a convenient “Fun Road” for everyone and I hope there is more of it.

## Article 9:

### 【活动】ANZ 全情赞助 华社服 2010 庆中秋亚洲美食文化节

日期:2010-09-02 阅读: 1395 来源:天维网编辑部

一年一度的中秋节即将到来。为了庆祝这个中国文化传统的节日,新西兰华人社区服务中心将于 2010 年 9 月 19 日周日,在中区 Panmure ( 15-19 Clifton Court) 举行盛大的 “ 庆中秋亚洲美食文化节”。华人社区服务中心诚邀所有华人朋友一同参加本次嘉年华会!

本次活动将组织精彩的庆中秋文化艺术演出。本地的艺术家们纷纷上台献艺，华社少儿合唱团的小演员将表演他们准备多时的合唱节目，韩国的艺术家们将表演他们的传统舞蹈。此外，您还能欣赏到传统的中国功夫和波利尼西亚草裙舞。与此同时，香飘四溢的亚洲美食(包括来自中国、泰国、日本、韩国、台湾、马来西亚等精美小吃)，琳琅满目的各类商品，童趣十足的儿童绘画展，以及由 SKYKIWI 赞助的望子成龙亲子摄影展，一定会让您流连忘返。

在美食文化节进行过程中，我们还有多次抽奖活动,其中包括一张由新西兰航空公司提供的悉尼往返机票，另外还有许多其他丰富奖品等你来抽!

又到中秋，又见月圆。我们期盼大家来参加我们的聚会。祝愿在新西兰的华人朋友阖家团聚，花好月圆。

本次活动得到了奥克兰市政府(Auckland City Council) ,Mt. Wellington Foundation 及社会发展部 SKIP 亲子项目的大力支持。

## **(Translations) Activities ANZ whole-hearted sponsorship - 2010 Chinese community celebrating Mid-Autumn Asian cuisine Festival**

(Date: 2010-09-02 Readers: 1395 Source: Skykiwi Editorial Department)

The annual Mid-Autumn Festival is coming. To celebrate this traditional festival of Chinese culture, New Zealand Chinese community will hold a large “Mid-Autumn Asian cuisine Festival” in Central Panmure (15-19 Clifton Court) on Sunday, September 19. Chinese Community Service Center will sincerely invite all Chinese friends to participate in this carnival.

The event will be held with a series of wonderful Mid-Autumn cultural and artistic performances. Many Local artists will give performances, children choir from Chinese Community Service Center will sing chorus which they have prepared for a long time and Korean artists will perform traditional dances. Besides, you could also enjoy the traditional Chinese Kongfu and Polynesian hula. Meanwhile, delicious Asian cuisine (from China, Thailand, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia and other snacks), different kind of product, full of playful children’s painting exhibition, and “parental expectations for children” photographs exhibition sponsored by Skykiwi, must make you linger.

We will also have lucky draw activities during the festival, including a return ticket from Sydney of Air New Zealand, in addition to many other gifts waiting for you.

Again the Mid-Autumn day and again the full moon we will see. We hope you will come to our party and wish all our Chinese friends in New Zealand happiness and bliss in family - like blooming flowers and full moon.

This event was with great support from Auckland City Council, Mt. Wellington Foundation and the Ministry of Social Development SKIP parenting programs.

### **Article 10:**

#### **《我的 Kiwi 生活》征文大赛一等奖得主：留学生才女来自深圳**

日期:2010-09-07 14:41:50 阅读: 2116 来源:天维网编辑部

天维网编辑部 9 月 6 日报道 8 月 28 日—29 日，第二届新西兰读书文化节在奥克兰举行。读书节开幕式上，组委会为 2010《我的 kiwi 生活》征文比赛获奖者颁发了奖状及奖品。

获得本次征文大赛一等奖的作者是一位来自深圳的年轻女孩，她的获奖作品《小草越国记》打动了评委们的心，也让许多华人忆起了自己的经历。这是一篇作者结合自己在新西兰生活中的故事和经历而写成的中篇小说，讲述了一个女孩来到新西兰后，从“娇娇女”蜕变成一个干练“女老

板”的故事，读来令人唏嘘又感动。

日前，《小草越国记》的作者梁洁对天维网记者讲述了这篇文章的诞生始末。今年 5 月份，她在天维网论坛上看见了征文广告，平时就有写日记习惯的她一看到《我的 Kiwi 生活》这个题目，脑海中就浮现出一个故事人物的形象和剧本。梁洁说，尽管这是一篇小说，并不是真人真事，但也是运用了她自身的性格来写，想必她也在这个人物身上倾注了深深的感情。

获得这次征文比赛的第一名则是梁洁没有预想到的，“我完全没有想过会得到这个荣誉，当时我只是希望能够好好地完成一个作品。”这个“出乎意料”的奖对她来说倒像个额外奖项，她说自己只是享受写作。“写作能让我的心灵得到平静，我喜欢不停地构思，所以我更享受写作的过程，”她如是说。获奖让她感到开心又荣幸，也是写作这个爱好为她带来的意外收获。

目前梁洁还在读书，过着脚踏实地的留学生活，说起将来的打算，她说：“我希望未来能像这篇作品里的女主角一样，开一间属于自己的咖啡厅！”

## **(Translations) “My Kiwi Life” Essay Contest prize winner: talented student from Shenzhen**

(Date: 2010-09-07 14:41:50 Readers: 2116 Source: Skykiwi editorial department)

Skykiwi editorial department report on 6th of September: The second “New Zealand Reading Culture Festival” was held in Auckland on 28-29th of August. On the opening ceremony, the organizing committee awarded certificates and prizes for the winners of “My Kiwi Life” Essay Contest.

The first prize winner is a young girl from Shenzhen and her winning work “Little Grass Going Oversea” touched the hearts of the judges, reminding many Chinese people of their own experience being overseas as well. This work is a short novel written on the author’s experience in New Zealand, telling a story how she became a skilled entrepreneur from a spoiled girl after moving to New Zealand. It is a very moving and inspiring story for reading.

The author of “Little Grass Going Oversea” recently talked about the birth of this novel with the Skykiwi reporter. The author browsed the contest advertisement on Skykiwi forum this May. The idea on a story character and script emerged immediately as soon as she saw the title of this contest – “My Kiwi Life”. Liangjie said that though it is a novel, not a true story, she draws on her own personality in the story. So she must have devoted a deep motion on the character.

It is completely unexpected for Liangjie to win the first prize of the contest. “I have never thought I would get this honor. I just hoped to complete a good work at that time”. The “unexpected” prize is rather an extra award for her. She said she just enjoyed the writing so much. “Writing could make me peace in my heart and I love keeping ideas in my mind, so I enjoyed better the process of writing”, she said. Anyway, this award makes her happy and honored, and it is also an unexpected gift for her writing hobby.

Liangjie is still a student right now and doing her study step by step. Talking about future, she said, “I wish I could open a coffee shop of my own in the future, just like the heroine in the novel”.

## **Article 11:**

### **冰冷尖刀抵喉咙新西兰华人遭劫**

作者:Dennis 日期:2005-07-20 12:00:00 阅读: 45 来源:Skykiwi 编辑部

上周六傍晚，新西兰基督城共有两家便利店遭劫，其中一家是刚刚接手才一个月的华人店主彭先生。

据彭先生讲述，当天 6 时 20 分左右，蒙面歹徒突然冲进店里，还没等反应过来尖刀已抵到他的喉咙，歹徒嘴里喊着快把烟拿来。军人出身的彭先生眼疾手快，一把推开歹徒迅速退到隔壁房间把门锁上。歹徒抢了一些烟后逃之夭夭。

彭先生非常气愤地说，当地一些歹徒认为新移民人生地不熟，软弱好欺，所以专抢亚裔移民的便利店。

针对日益猖獗的抢劫风潮，当地华人社团已经邀请警察举行了座谈会，商讨解决办法。

## **(Translations) Cold sharp knife against the throat - New Zealand Huaren encountering robbery**

(Author: Dennis Date: 2005-07-20 12:00:00 Readers: 45 Source: Skykiwi editorial department)

Last Saturday evening, two dairy shops in Christchurch, New Zealand, were robbed. One of them belonged to a Chinese called Mr. Peng who took over the shop just a month ago.

According to Mr. Peng, it was about 6:20 that evening when the masked robber broke into the shop. The sharp knife was already against Mr. Peng's throat before he realized what was going on. The robber shouted "give me the cigarettes right now!" With military origin, Mr. Peng reacted quickly then, pushing the robber away, back towards the next room and locking the door. The robber grabbed some cigars and run away.

Mr. Peng said very angrily that, some local criminals think the new immigrants are unfamiliar with the environment and they are weak and easily deceived. So some criminals aimed at robbing Asian immigrants' dairy shops.

Towards the more and more serious robbery situation, the local Huaren Community has invited police officers to hold a meeting, discussing the solutions together.

## **Article 12:**

### **聚焦新西兰华人绑架案:宽容 却不宽恕**

作者:Dennis 日期:2005-03-19 13:00:00 阅读: 110 来源:Skykiwi 特约作者:王光陆

近来频频见诸华文和英文媒体的华裔绑架事件，不知道牵动了多少人的心。又一次，刚显得平静的奥克兰波澜又起。前几年我还未来的时候，奥克兰留学生的诸多骇人听闻的暴力流血事件，至今仍让我对这里心有余悸。

绑架案发生后，我在心中默默地祈祷：千万不要又是我们留学生阿！我不否认这样的想法里面存在着自私的因素。但是，这样的想法不也是人之常情么？不过，这件案子戏剧性地结果让我们大家都松了一口气。人质安全回家了，然而嫌疑犯却依旧逍遥法外。知道今天，当我意外地发现一篇自称是其中一名在逃嫌疑犯在 SKYKIWI 中贴出的事件经过，虽然，我不能肯定这里面说的都是事实，甚至连这篇帖子的作者是否真的是在逃的嫌疑犯我无从知晓。但愿，这是真的吧！

看写帖子的人的文笔以及对自己的分析，恐怕不是不学无术之辈吧。但究竟什么魔鬼使这个头脑如此清晰的人失去理智，竟疯狂到策划绑架他人勒索钱财的地步，同时亦把自己的大好前程埋葬？作者自己对此的解释是因为赌博输了个精光而在他人的唆使下铤而走险。这的确是这件事情的直接原因，然而，在这个原因的背后，是否还有着更深层次的原因呢？

留学生们是最可怜的人，也是最坚强的人，难道不是吗？当同龄人还在父母的呵护下挑三拣四，当国内同学们还在校园的角落里缠绵的时候，留学生们呢？在国内过惯了较为富足的生活，而如今流落异乡的时候，为自己的生活精打细算。国内很多人都在炮轰留学生们“糜烂”的生活，但是，你们知道吗？我们承受了多少你们难以想象的压力？在文化冲突的夹缝中，寻求自己心灵的依托。很多人坚强地战胜了自己，同时也有很多在重重重压之下，在善与恶的边缘徘徊了良久以后不幸滑下了罪恶的深渊。这之间的差距，也许只在一念之间。赌场里的孩子们，难道他们真的如你们所说的那样十恶不赦吗？红灯区下那一个个堕落的身影，难道就不承受着虚浮道义所不能承受之重吗？中国现代的文明，凝聚了多少“海归”们的血汗？孙中山，蒋中正，邓小平，蒋经国，以及胡适之，鲁迅，林语堂等等对中国做出过重大贡献的人，哪一个不是曾经受过漂泊的煎熬，当然

他们是强者，顽强地挺了下来，难道对于失去自我的不幸者们？你们就有权力祭器道德的大旗喊打喊杀吗？当留学生们回归家乡，为社会带来一点新意，做出一点贡献的时候，你们的内心或许不会有一点感激，但若是留学生们在外出了什么事情，你们却肯定会站在道德的高度对我们进行的审判。

尊重每一个体，即是体现现代文明社会的高度和和谐。个人不能侵犯他人的生命、国家亦然。既然是留学生，那肯定至少是在国内完成了初中阶段的教育。那就来看一下这优秀的“教育”吧。还记得一个个所谓的“英雄故事”吗？还记得“潘冬子”吗？法律下的国家杀人，拿起屠刀的孩子，却换来公众的阵阵喝彩，其后果不过是强化暴力血腥，使国家机器沦入以怨抱怨的恶性怪圈，拯救教育迷途中的生命，而非以消灭生命而使正义得以彰显。在我们从小到大的课本上，看到的电视节目，有多少那种理性的、温和的东西，而那些少量的、理性而又温和的言论一旦出现，便大多逃不脱被“追杀”的命运。而那些极端的、非理性的东西则大多受到了“追捧”，很少有人去“追杀”，因为，这是符合大家一贯被灌输的思维。教育者们，你们思考过留学生现象吗？你们是否深刻意识到：整个社会价值观道德体系如何出现巨大真空，把人生信仰追求演绎成虚幻海市蜃楼，你们意识自己到自己的言和行的巨大差异了吗？一个道德极端恶劣的先生能教出品德高尚的学生吗？中国苦苦经营的教育体制究竟存在怎样偏差？教育终极目标的舍本求末、荒诞错位，一味追求分数，忽略人的道德构建，让人质疑中国教育殚尽心机究竟培养出具有强烈社会责任心、承担义务、有正义感的社会公民，还是口头上爱党爱国，私底下只求利益的人格分裂的委琐怪胎？

留学美国的卢刚的枪声震惊了世界，美国人悼念几位无辜死者同时，没有忘记最后给卢刚亦送上鲜花和悼词。英国多佛尔海滩遇难的中国劳工，得到的是国内媒体反复强调严打偷渡和英国小学生们自发送上的鲜花。奥克兰前两年的多起留学生惨剧，却得到了多少同情的声音呢？也许有那么一点，也早已湮没在国内外媒体铺天盖地的讨伐声中。甚至一些卑鄙的种族主义者，蛮横地借此指责整个华人社会。这些自诩比其他族裔有着更优秀的文化的人，在你们欧洲和美国同胞的面前，你们很无耻。

在这个尔虞我诈的社会，而漂流在外的孤寂的孩子们，究竟得到多少的关爱呢？盘剥留学生那可怜的打工收入，利用留学生对这个异国的陌生骗取他们的钱财，威逼利诱留学生们走向犯罪的深渊。看那报纸上一个个堂而皇之的某种广告吧，有多少个体尊严一次次被社会无情冷漠蹂躏一团？公民和 PR 的身份难道就能成为某些人仗势欺人的工具吗？某些来自中国大陆的华人富翁们，当你们利用社会的转型时的法制道德空缺聚敛无数社会财富的时候，在你们在异国过着奢华无比的生活的时候，有没有关爱一下还是一个孩子的同胞，哪怕是一句言语上的鼓励和安慰也好，你们有吗？还是过多地在他们身上发泄你们高高在上的统治欲？当有些留学生无力支付天价学费的当下，你们在政府学校媒体面前为他们说过多少话？究竟能给过学生多少思想导向和经济援助，指导每个孤独无助的个体他走出经济和文化的双重危机？

那个还逃逸在外的朋友，不要畏惧法律的惩罚，勇敢地面对人生的挫折吧。这是个惨痛的教训，然而对于漫长的人生来说，这又算得了什么呢，你说是吗？

## **(Translations) Focusing on the New Zealand Chinese kidnapping crimes: Tolerance but not forgiveness**

(Author: Dennis    Date: 2005-03-19 13:00:00    Readers: 110    Source: Skykiwi)

The recent reports on Chinese kidnapping crimes from Chinese and English media touched many people's hearts. Once again, the peace of Auckland was broken. When I was coming a few years ago, I heard of many Auckland Chinese students' violent and blood cases and it still haunt me today.

After the kidnapping case, I prayed in my heart: don't be our international students again! I don't deny that there are selfish elements in my mind. But this idea is just human. Fortunately, the dramatic result of the case makes us all sigh of relief. The hostage was safe home, while the suspects are still at large. Till today I accidentally found a claim posted in Skykiwi from one of the suspects, telling the whole story. Although I am not sure whether it is the truth, and even whether the author of this post is the real suspect. But hopefully this is really it!

Seen from the content and descriptions on himself, I think the author is not an ignorant person. But what on earth makes such a clear mind person to lose his sense, being crazy enough to kidnap others for money so that burying his own future? The author's excuse is that he lost everything in gambling so that he took risk under other's instigation. This is indeed the direct cause of this



incident; however, is there any further reason behind it?

The international student is the most pathetic and the strongest man, isn't it? When the peers are still under their parents' protections and when domestic students are lingering in the corner of the campus, what about international students? Though most international students were used to the comfort life in China, now they have to plan carefully for their life in a new country. Many people in China have criticized the "erosion life" of international students. But do you know how much unimaginable pressures we have taken? Caught in the narrow gap of culture shocks, we have tried to find peace in hearts. Many international students have overcome difficulties; meanwhile also a lot of them unfortunately slide down the evil abyss after wandering between goodness and badness. The difference is perhaps just in one mind. Are the children in casino really as heinous as people say it? Don't the fallen angels in the red-light district bear the burden of rootless morality? How much Chinese civilization today is condensed by sweat and hardness of 'overseas returnees'? Zhongshan Sun, Zhongzheng Jiang, Xiaoping Deng, Jingguo Jiang, Shizhi Hu, Xun Lu and Yutan Lin are all examples who suffered from hard lives overseas but returned with great contributions to China. Of course they are strong and stay still through difficulties. But for those unlucky ones who lost their confidences, should people have the right to conspue them under the slogan of moral criteria? When the international students return home and make some contributions to society, you may not have any grateful feeling. But if international students have done something wrong overseas, you are sure to stand on the height of morality to give us trial.

Respecting each individual is the symbol of high degree of harmony in modern civilized society. The gunshot case of Gang Lu who studied in US shocked the world. The American didn't forget to bring flowers and eulogy when they mourn the dead in the gunshot. The Chinese labors dead in Dover Beach of UK received repeated criticizes on illegal immigration from Chinese media and the flowers from volunteered British primary students. How much voice of compassion do we have for the several international students' tragedy two years ago in Auckland? Perhaps there is a little, which has been lost in the overwhelming sound of crusade from media in and outside of the country. Some despicable racist even took chance to criticize the whole Chinese community.

In this society of intrigues, how much love do the drifting overseas children get? Exploit the little income of the poor students, cheat students for their lack of experience, and threaten and seduce the students to the crime. For those rich Chinese people in New Zealand, have you ever cared about those children with same origin when you enjoy the luxury life here? Even a verbal encouragement and comfort would work, but do you have one? Or do you just want to stand in height and rule over them? Do you ever speak for them in front of university, local government or media when those students couldn't afford the high tuition fee? How much orientation assistance do you give to those students for guiding them out of the dual economic and culture crisis?

For that escaping friend, please don't be afraid of legal punishments. You have to face your life setbacks. This is a painful lesson for you, but it doesn't that matter much for your long life. What do you think?

## Article 13:

### 探讨海外华人的生活经历 新西兰华人论坛将举行

日期:2007-08-18 16:18:48 阅读: 165 来源:中国侨网

据新西兰《乡音报》报道,连续两次大获成功的“Going Bananas 新西兰华人论坛”将于8月18日和19日两天在奥克兰商学院再次举行。据悉,今年论坛的名称为“Bananas NZ Going Global”,主题仍然是通过个人经历的介绍来探讨海外华人的生活经历。

负责本次论坛组织活动的新西兰华联总会表示,这一论坛将为所有新西兰以及海外华人审视自己的身份、文化等提供一种崭新的途径。

新西兰华联总会主席 Kai Luey 表示,“本次论坛将新西兰国内外的华人定位为一个自豪、自信和活跃的团体,集中体现一些人的经历,他们克服了在成功之路上的个人和职业问题上的挑战。”他表示,“这已经是第三届华人论坛,个人经历的介绍将占到大会议程的一大部分,从而帮助大会成功打破一些旧观念和看法,会议主要围绕华人身份的话题进行,会议收到许多非华人以及主流社会媒体的关注,充分体现出社会对了解华人生活和心态的要求。

奥克兰商学院也将对本次会议大力协助,该商学院院长 Barry Spicer 教授对华人在150年的时间内对新西兰的发展和繁荣做出的贡献表示了高度赞扬,此外,来自奥克兰大学各个院系的知名学者也将参与此次论坛活动。

金融学院的 Jilnaught Wong 教授将会参加“腾飞的华人”的讨论,介绍和分享杰出华人的成功历程以及他们对本土和国际社会的贡献;亚洲研究院和毛利研究院的 Manying Ip 和 Margaret Mutu 两名教授将会参加“多元主义的再造”的讨论中,探讨在多民族的社会中民族地位和关系的变化。

### **(Translations) Discussing life experiences of overseas Chinese - New Zealand Chinese Forum will be held**

(Date: 2007-08-18 16:18:48 Readers: 165 Source: Overseas Chinese Net)

According to New Zealand “Xiangyin Newspaper” report, the two previous successful “Going Bananas New Zealand Huaren Forum” will be held again on 18-19th August in Auckland Business College. The name of forum this year is “Bananas NZ Going Global”. The theme continues to be the discussion of overseas Chinese through sharing personal life experiences.

New Zealand Chinese Association, the organizer of this forum, believed this forum will provide a new way for New Zealand Huaren and all overseas Huaren to review self identities and cultures.

The president of New Zealand Huaren Association Kai Luey said, “The forum will identify Huaren in New Zealand and abroad as a proud, confident and active community. It will embody the experiences of some Chinese, especially who have overcome a lot of challenges to succeed in career”. He said, “It is already the third Huaren forum. The personal experience presentation will take a large part of the agenda which will help to break old ideas and views. The conference mainly centers the identity of Huaren, which receives concerns from non-mainstream media and non-Chinese people. It indicates the social need to understand the requirements of Chinese life and mentality”.

Auckland Business College will also give great supports to the conference. The Dean Professor Barry Spicer praised the contributions from Chinese on the development and prosperity of New Zealand in 150 years. In addition, many renowned scholars from different departments of Auckland University will also participate in the Forum.

The Professor Jilnaught, from Finance Department, will participate in the discussion of “flying Huaren”, introducing and sharing successful experiences and great contributions of local Chinese; Professor Manying Ip from Asia Research Institute and Professor Margaret Mutu from Maori Research Institute will attend the discussion of “rebuilding multi-ethnic society”, analyzing the

changes of ethnic status and relationship in multi-culture society.

## Article 14:

### 奥克兰孔子学院优秀考生获邀参加夏令营和奖学金学习班(图)

日期:2010-09-22 11:02:18 阅读: 95 来源:奥克兰孔子学院

中国国家汉办为鼓励海外汉语学习者学习汉语的积极性，特设立了汉语考试(HSK/YCT)奖学金和夏令营项目，邀请世界各地的汉语考生去中国进修汉语，参加夏令营。

今年八月来自奥克兰大学，Kristin 中学和树人中文学校的八位成绩优秀的 HSK/YCT 考生获邀参加了在中国北京和山东举办的夏令营活动和奖学金学习班。

由中国国家汉办举办的 夏令营活动和奖学金学习班课程活动安排非常丰富。参加的学员不仅学习汉语，也学习中国传统文化和艺术，如中国功夫，太极，剪纸，书法，画画等等。课余时间，学员们坐公车、地铁去市场、商店体验百姓生活，品尝中国小吃和北京烤鸭，还去剧院欣赏京剧。学员们还游览了北京、山东等地的名胜古迹，如长城、泰山、紫禁城、大明湖和孔庙等。

参加汉语考试奖学金学习班的奥克兰大学学生 Lucy 说：“这一个月我学了很多中文，了解了很多中国文化，结识了很多学中文的国际学生。我从来没想到有一天我会去爬泰山，看孔子的家乡，这太令人激动了。”

另一位 参加汉语考试夏令营的 学员 Wendy 说：“夏令营真令人难忘。和来自全世界 300 多位汉语学习者一起学习，交朋友，是我一生中美好的时光，我会珍藏这一美好的记忆。我爱汉语考试夏令营。

HSK 和 YCT 是目前全球公认的权威性的汉语能力认证考试，重点考查汉语非第一语言的考生在生活、学习和工作中运用汉语进行交际的能力。考生通过考试，可以了解到自己的汉语水平，考试的成绩可为院校招生、分班授课、课程免修、学分授予提供参考依据；也为用人单位录用、培训、晋升工作人员提供参考依据。为满足新西兰汉语学习者的需求，奥克兰大学孔子学院将会在今年 10 月 30 日和 11 月 17 日再次举办 YCT 和 HSK 考试。有关汉语考试（HSK/YCT）的详情，请与奥克兰大学孔子学院汉语考试处的王老师联系：[meiju.wang@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:meiju.wang@auckland.ac.nz)

## (Translations) Excellent students of Auckland Confucius Institute invited to participate in summer camp and scholarship classes

(Date: 2010-09-22 11: 02:18 Readers: 95. Source: Auckland Confucius Institute)

To encourage overseas Chinese language learners, National Institute of China Hanban in Auckland set up Chinese language exam scholarships (HSK/YCT) and summer camp programs, inviting candidates all over the world to study Chinese in China and participate in the summer camp.

Eight outstanding HSK/YCT candidates from Auckland University, Kristin Middle School and Shuren Chinese Language School were invited to attend the summer camp and scholarship classes in Shandong and Beijing this August.

The summer camp and scholarship classes organized by China Hanban had various activities. The candidates not only learnt Chinese, but also Chinese traditional culture and art, for instance, Chinese Kungfu, Taiji, Chinese paper cutting, calligraphy and painting. In spare time, the candidates took buses or subway to the markets and shops, experiencing Chinese daily lives. They also enjoyed Chinese snacks including Peking duck, and went to theater to watch opera. Participants toured scenic spots in Beijing and Shandong as well, for example the Great Wall, Taishan Mountain, Forbidden City, Daming Lake and Confucius Temple.

Lucy, a student from Auckland University, attended scholarship classes and said, “I learnt a lot of Chinese this month, knew many Chinese cultures and met many international students who study Chinese. I never imagined that one day I will climb Taishan Mountain, see Confucius’s hometown.

It is too excited”.

Wendy, another participant of summer camp, said, “Summer camp is really impressive that I could meet more than 300 friends from all over the world and study together. It is the best time in my life and I will treasure this good memory. I love Chinese test summer camp”.

HSK and YCT is a global recognized authority in the Chinese language proficiency test, mainly examining the capacity of using Chinese to communicate during work, study and living for those whom Chinese is not the first language. Through the test, candidates could have a better idea about their Chinese level. The examination results could provide a reference for institution admission, course exemption and credits granted; it also provide reference for employment agencies, training and promotion. To meet the needs of Chinese language learners in New Zealand, Auckland Confucius Institute will hold YCT and HSK test again on 30th of October and 17th of November. For more information about Chinese test (HSK/YCT), please contact Mr. Wong of Chinese examination office: [meiju.wang@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:meiju.wang@auckland.ac.nz)

## Article 15:

### 【中文生命线】一次见面的承诺

作者:苏菲 日期:2010-09-22 10:53:53 阅读:67 来源:中文生命线供稿

HELLO, ROSANIE

今天 GRACE 致电, 问我归队(中文生命线)上线(值班当电话辅导员)的日程。几经犹豫, 我没舍得说出口, 或许是时候离开生命线了。

2004 至 2008 四年, 电话在线未曾谋面的朋友, 线下或远或近的同行, 给我多年的留学生活带来了非常难得的友谊和体验。

现在, 也许真的到了离队的时候了。然而, 我却是这样的不舍。朋友说, 是因为你付出过, 放弃觉得很可惜吧。不是的。这个工作本身就是义务的, 不求回报, 何来可惜?

其实, 离开城市两年多, 每次从小镇赶到市区, 往返 300 多公里回去值班, 总有人问, 你将来想考执照做专职辅导工作吗? 要不, 你这是为了什么? 我不语。因为我说了, 你也未必明白。说真的, 我有私心。为了私心, 所以坚持。而这个私心, 就是承诺。一个是对佛前的承诺, 另一个是因为她---我仅见过一面的 ROSANIE。

04 年的夏天, 我出了场车祸。车子尽毁, 所幸无人受伤。很长一段时间, 不再自己开车, 转乘巴士。

那个周五下午刚放学, 便拿着月票, 坐巴士沿海边逛荡, 看沿途的风景, 我觉得, 那是让思想放空, 安静的好时光。巴士上只有两位乘客。一位洋人老太太和我。车到海岸终点站, 那位毛利司机提醒说:「到站了, 要开回程啦。」我拿着月票, 走到验票处, 笑笑说:「请往回开吧, 我是坐车旅游的。」一路坐在司机边上, 跟司机聊天的老太太转过脸来, 笑问:「你是日本人吧?」我说:「我是中国人。」她说:「哦, 很少中国人这样坐巴士旅游的。」我说:「是吗? 学生都喜欢这样。」她朝我招招手说:「过来坐吧, 聊聊天。」我用并不流畅的英文, 跟她聊了起来。老太太很有耐心, 特意将语速放慢。她说, 她认识很多日本学生, 喜欢坐巴士游世界, 还定期到海边义务捡垃圾。她对日本人的文明礼貌印象深刻。似乎巴不得我也是个日本人。我跟她谈起, 这里中国人的义工组织, 比如对本地小区卓有贡献的华人环保基金, 华人社区服务中心, 中文生命线热线等等。她点头认同, 说也有些了解。

直到巴士返回市区, 我们才告别。正值下班时间, 我到超市买了快餐, 到巴士站转乘另一条专线巴士准备去中文生命线值班。谁知, 我刚一上车, 就听到有人大声招呼:「嗨, 还是你啊。你是喜欢跟着我, 为了和我聊天吧? 呵呵, 你看看, 这趟车可是换道啦。」我抬头看, 原来又是那位老太太, 她依然坐在司机旁边的老人专座上, 看来这辆车更换服务线路了。我开玩笑说:「对阿, 就是跟着你, 喜欢跟你聊天啊。」她笑得很开心, 还问:「你是要去打工吗? 是饭店, 还是酒吧?」我随口说, 是, 去打工, 不过是义工。就是这路车没错, 到中文生命线呢。老太太一听, 却站了起来。是吗? 这么晚了, 你是去做义工阿。只见她随即从皮包里找出一个小布袋, 说:「你很难得, 别买车票了, 我帮你买。」我一下子没有反应过来, 忙说:「不, 谢谢你。」我用的是月票, 我准备将月票插进验票口给她看。她却坚持说:「不, 我来帮你买, 我要支持你。」这时, 司机笑着将我的月票抽了出来, 说:「听她的吧, 她的心意。」然后将老太太从小布袋里掏出来的零钱收了, 而且是按老人优惠价收的。我突然间找不到语言, 只说声:「谢谢!」

人流高峰，车很快挤满人。我退到老人专座的后排，心情始终难以平静。过两站就要下车。匆忙间，我从背包里抽出通讯本，撕下一页：亲爱的新朋友，感谢你的支持。因为你，我会坚持尽我的所能，努力付出。你的朋友苏菲。巴士快到站，我按了停车铃，在挤到车门准备下车前，将感谢条塞到老太太手里：「给您的，再次谢谢您。」等我跳下车，身后响起了两声短速的喇叭声。站稳回身，看见老太太和司机正挥着手向我告别。

那一个晚上，我的情绪一直没有平复。跟我在值班间一同分享感受的同工，是另一组的辅导员 Ann。我们记得那个夜晚，如此温暖。

苏菲 2009-3-11 2:20 pm

### **(Translations) The Commitment to one meet**

(Author: Sufi Date: 2009-03-11 Readers: 67 Source: Chinese Lifeline)

Hello Rosanie

Today Grace called me to ask my return (Chinese Lifeline) date on duty (phone counselor). With much hesitation, I didn't say out that maybe it is the time for me to leave the Lifeline.

In four years from 2004 to 2008, online friends who I never meet, as well as offline counterparts brought very rare friendship and experience to my overseas life.

Now perhaps it is the time to leave. But I am so sad to say farewells. Friends said that I felt pity to give up because I paid out first. However, it is not. This job is volunteered, without pay. So where does the pity come?

In fact, in two years' time leaving the city, when I rushed from the small town to the city and returned for more than 300 km on duty, people always asked me whether I would get the license to do the professional guidance work in the future; Otherwise, what for? I didn't answer because they may not understand even if I tell the reason. To be honest, I have selfish motives. For this selfishness, I insist. And this selfishness is in fact the commitment. One is the commitment in front of Buddha, the other is the commitment for Rosanie who I met for only one time.

In the summer of 2004, I had a car accident and the car was destroyed. Luckily no one was hurt, but from then on I no longer drive and change to take the bus.

On a Friday afternoon when class was over, I took the month ticket to take bus for the tour along the beach. I felt it was a good time to relax and enjoy the peace. There were only two passengers, a foreign old lady and me. When the bus arrived in destination, the Maori driver reminded, "Here is the terminal and the bus will return". I took the month ticket and walked to the counter and smiled, "Please drive back, I take the bus for tour". The old lady who chatted with the driver on the way turned around and asked me smilingly, "You are Japanese, right?" I said, "I am Chinese". She said, "Oh, there are not many Chinese travel by bus like you". I said, "Really? Students all like this". She waved to me, "Come and sit. We could talk". Then I chatted with her though my English was not fluent at that time. The old lady was very patient and she slowed down the speed on purpose. She said that she knew many Japanese students who love to travel the world by bus and pick up trash at beach on a regular basis. She was very impressive at Japanese politeness. It seemed that she wished I were Japanese, too. I told her about the volunteer organizations of local Chinese, for instance, Huaren Environmental Fund, Huaren Community Service Center, Chinese Lifeline and so on. She nodded and agreed, saying that she has heard of it.

We didn't say goodbye until the bus returned to the city. It was the peak time, so I went to supermarket to buy the fast food and went to another bus station to get to Chinese Lifeline for duty. Who knows, I heard someone call out loud as soon as I got on the bus, "Hey, it is you again. You like to follow me and talk with me, right? You see, this bus will take different route". I looked up and found it was that old lady again. She still sat next to the driver, which is the seat especially for elder people. It appeared that this bus changed the service line. I jokingly said, "Ah, yes. I do like to follow you and chat with you". She laughed happily and asked, "Are you going to work, to restaurant, or pub?" I said, "Yes, I am going to work, but as volunteers. It is this bus line, to the Chinese Lifeline". The old lady stood up as soon as she heard, "Really? It is so late now and you are going for volunteer work". Then she took out a small bag from the handbag and said, "You are very rare. Don't buy the ticket and I'll buy you". I didn't expect that and said quickly, "No, thank you. I had the month ticket". When I was about to insert my month ticket, the old lady insisted, "No. I will buy you because I want to support you". At this time the driver smiled, took back my ticket and said, "You'd better listen to her. It is her willingness". Then he took the coins from the old lady, but only for elderly special price. I suddenly couldn't find a word, only to say, "Thank you!"

Peak time came and the bus was soon filled up with people. I stood back behind the lady, but my mood was hardly to calm down. I would get off in two stops. In rush, I pulled the notebook from my backpack, tore one page off:

Dear new friend,

Thank you very much for your support. Because of you, I will try my best to do the good job.

Your friend, Sufi.

The bus stopped and I pressed the bell. I gave the note to the old lady when I rushed to the door, "It is for you. And thank you again". When I jumped off the bus I heard two short horns. I saw that lady and the driver waved to me.

That night I couldn't calm down. I shared the experience with my counterpart Ann when we were on duty. And we still remembered that that night was so warm.

Sufi 2009-03-11 2:20 pm

## Article 16:

### 新西兰中学生各抒己见：学习汉语并非必不可少

日期:2010-08-16 16:55:45 阅读: 1180 来源:中国华文教育网

连日来，总理约翰·基在中国访问期“将推动新西兰更多的学校教授中文”的言论，随着新西兰各路媒体抢眼的报道，成为新西兰家喻户晓，人人皆知的热门话题。总理认为新中关系是关乎两国贸易和财富的大事，新西兰若想和中国建立一个有实际意义的生意关系，学习汉语必不可少。目前新西兰现有 2500 多所中学里，只有 89 所开设了中文课，总理认为这是远远不够，甚至是可悲的。因此总理在中国高调提出将在新西兰更多的学校开设中文(普通话)教学课程。

毫无疑问这是对新西兰现有的和意欲从事汉语教育工作群体的一大利好消息，也是新西兰华人为拥有自己母语而自豪的时刻。有人甚至认为汉语将成为新西兰今后除毛利语之外第三种重要的语言。

近些年中国经济的发展和国力的强大，使得世界各国不得不扭转观念重新刮目回看中国，经济利益的趋势，巨大生意市场的诱惑，中国的文化，中国的语言都成了抢手货，成了建立生意的道路和桥梁。一位在中国从商 25 年的新西兰人甚至说到：我们该有一代说普通话的新西兰人。利益关系到国计民生固然重要，推广中文学习看来是大势所趋。华裔民族只是新西兰多民族国家的一分子，对总理提出广泛学汉语，提高汉语地位的观点，真正年轻一代的新西兰人是怎么的想法呢？记者采访了几位新西兰惠灵顿中学学生。

程鸣(华裔，高中学生)：我觉得不太好。在新西兰，毛利人是当地的原住民族，地位非常特殊。中国人是后来的移民，中文只是外来的语种之一，单独将学习中文提到如此高的程度，我认为总理的提议是欠缺考虑的。在新西兰的亚洲人，多多少少还感到有一点受歧视，这样的提议会不会将引起更多的当地人反感华人？我很担忧这样会引起歧视华人的情绪反弹。

Ain(马来西亚人，高中学生)：可以说总理的考虑比较深远。在经济上，中国日渐强大，新西兰今后在经济上如果需要一个强大的支撑，无疑将是中国。那么现在广泛地学习中文，就是为国家的将来着想，打基础。因为到时会需要更多的新西兰人能够用中文直接和中国打交道。不过大力推广学习中文会不会引起民族事端呢？有一件好事是可以预见的，那就是将来新西兰就不用花很多的钱请中文翻译了。

Rachel(新西兰人，高中学生)：我们用的，穿的好多东西都是产自中国，多了解一些中国是我们应该有的态度。不过我更想知道中文如此推广开来之后，没准哪一天新西兰还会出现个“Chinese Party”，这样会不会引起其他民族的不满？那么其他民族会不会也要一个自己的政党啊？我认为毛利语虽然用途不是很广泛，但它是新西兰当地毛利民族的语言，是民族遗产，它的地位在新西兰是任何一种语言不能企及的。

Nadeeja(斯里兰卡人，高中学生)：尽管中文在将来的就业和生活当中都可能比其他语言更实用，但是政府不该急功近利。

Cindy(马来西亚华人，高中学生)：目前看并没有多少人热衷学习毛利语，学中文好像更有实用价值。总理的提议很好。中国在经济上越来越大，中国的就业机会也会多于其他国家。新西兰今后的毕业生如果多一项汉语语言能力，那就多一条就业之路。我在学中文，已经学习了四年半了。

## **(Translations) New Zealand high school students expressing their views: Learning Chinese is not that essential**

(Date: 2010-08-16 16:55:45

Readers: 1180

Source: Chinese education web)

Recently, due to the highlighted reports from each New Zealand media, the speech – “New Zealand will promote more schools to teach Chinese language” made by the Prime Minister John Key during his visit to China became the hot topic known to almost every New Zealanders and families. The Prime Minister believes the relationship between China and New Zealand is much relative to the bilateral trade and wealth. Learning Chinese is essential if New Zealand want to build a practical business relationship with China. Among the current more than 2500 schools, only 89 provide Chinese courses. The Prime Minister thinks it is far from enough and even distressing. Therefore, the Prime Minister strongly proposed to provide more Chinese language (Mandarins) courses in schools of New Zealand during his stay in China.

There is no doubt that this is good news for the group of people who now work in Chinese language education in New Zealand. It is also the proud moment for New Zealand Chinese. Some people even think Chinese will be the third important language after Maori in New Zealand in the future.

With the development in economy and strong national power, other countries have to change the old ideas towards China. With the trend of market interests and attraction of huge business market, Chinese culture and Chinese language become popular, as the roads and bridges of establishing businesses. A New Zealander who has been doing business in China for 25 years even said, ‘we should have a generation of New Zealanders speaking Mandarins’. Interest is indeed very important for a nation’s development and promoting learning Chinese seems to be the trend. However, Huayi community is only a member of multi-ethnic New Zealand. What are the younger New Zealand generation’s views on the Prime Minister’s speech? The reporter interviewed several students from Wellington high schools.

Cheng Ming (Huayi, High School student): I feel not good. Maori people are the indigenes in New Zealand and have very special social status. Chinese are the later immigrants and Chinese language is only one foreign language. I think it is lack of consideration to lift Chinese to such high status. The Asians in New Zealand are still confronting more or less discriminations. Will this proposal lead to more local people against Chinese? I am worried this will lead to the rebound emotion of discrimination against Chinese.

Ain (Malaysian, High School student): You can say that the Prime Minister has a long-term consideration. China is becoming stronger in economy. If New Zealand needs a strong support, China will undoubtedly be the choice. So the reason for learning Chinese is to plan for the nation's future, making the foundation. We will need more New Zealanders who can speak Chinese to deal directly with China at that time. However, is there a problem of arousing ethnic conflicts for promoting Chinese? There is one good thing that we can predict, that is, New Zealand will not need to spend a lot of money to hire Chinese translators.

Rachel (New Zealander, High School student): Many things that we used and wore are made in China. Knowing more about China is the way we should do. But I wonder if there will be any 'Chinese party' someday in New Zealand if we promote Chinese so widely. If so, will it cause the resentment of other ethnicity? Then will other ethnicity want to have its own political party as well? I think although Maori is not widely used, it is the language of local New Zealand indigenous people; it is the national heritage; and its status in New Zealand is out of reach for any other languages.

Nadeeja (Sri Lanka, High School student): Although Chinese may be more practical in future employment and life; the government should not be profit-oriented.

Cindy (Malaysian Chinese, High School student): Not many people learn Maori at present, while learning Chinese seems to have more practical values. The Prime Minister's proposal is very good. The stronger China is the more employment opportunities China will have. If New Zealand graduates could learn Chinese in addition, they will have more opportunities to find a job. I am now learning Chinese and have been studying for four and half years.

## Article 17:

### 盼爱情天长地久避开不吉利的“寡妇年” 新西兰华人忙结婚

日期:2010-02-05 12:00:08 阅读: 2071 来源:中新网

中新网 2 月 4 日电 据新西兰《乡音报》报道, 近日, 新西兰华人记者 Lincoln Tan 的一篇报道称, 由于担心明年“不吉利”, 许多打算结婚的华人青年男女都着急赶在农历虎年到来之前结婚。

中国农历的虎年春季将在今年 2 月 14 日, 除了许多男女青年决定不在虎年结婚外, 还有许多已婚夫妇决定要等到 2011 年再要宝宝。

Peter Chan 是一名命理师, 同时也是 Waitakere 的一名市议员, 他表示今年的虎年被认为不吉利是由于立春的前提, 在中国传统年中, 立春是个很重要的日子, 如果一个农历年中没有出现立春, 即是所谓的“寡妇年, 盲年”, 常被认为不适合结婚, 已婚者也容易发生矛盾。

奥克兰的律师 James Ho 和女友 Nancy Wong 就决定提前“喜结连理”, “这可能是迷信但我们希望我们的爱情能永久, 我们不想冒险”, 在银行工作的 Lily Zhang 和马来西亚老公 Nicky Lee 也将婚礼提前到了上周, 而当被问到是否打算赶快要孩子时, Lee 太太表示尽管两人也想尽快组



织家庭，但会把生育计划放到虎年之后考虑，“据说生在虎年的孩子会脾气不好”。

但 Janet Chan 有不同看法，她是一名马来西亚移民，也是一名“风水”迷，她认为出生在虎年的人其实有许多优点，“可爱，勇敢、热情，天生的领袖”，在古代，中国人认为老虎前额的“王”字图样意味着“国王”，战场上经常用老虎作为标记，象征无畏和胜利。

## **(Translations) Hope to avoid the unlucky “Widow Year” and wish love lasting long-New Zealand Chinese busy for wedding**

(Date: 2010-02-05 12:00:08 Readers: 2071 Source: China-New Zealand Net)

China-New Zealand reported on 4th of February: Recently according to New Zealand Chinese reporter Lincoln Tan's article, many Huaren young men and women were anxious to get married before the lunar New Year of Tiger because they worried about next year's "unluckiness".

Chinese Lunar New Year of Tiger will be on 14th of February this year. Except for those Chinese young men and women who decided not to marry in Year of the Tiger, many married couples decided to have babies till 2011.

Peter Chan is a fortuneteller, and also a Waitakere City Councillor. He said the Year of Tiger is believed to be unlucky because the beginning of spring is earlier this year. In Chinese traditional lunar calendar, the beginning of spring is a very important day. If the beginning of spring doesn't appear in a lunar year, it is so-called "Widow Year or Blind Year", which is usually considered as unsuitable for marriage and even married couples are prone to have conflicts.

The Auckland lawyer James Ho and his girl friend Nancy Wong decided to marry in advance. "Maybe it is superstition. But we hope our love lasts forever and we don't want to take risks". Lily Zhang who works in the bank and her Malaysia husband Nicky Lee also put their wedding forward to last week. When asked if they planned to have child soon. Mrs. Lee said though they wanted to form a family as soon as possible but they would place the birth plan after the Year of the Tiger. "It is said that the child born in the Year of Tiger will have bad temper".

But Janet Chan held different view. She is a Malaysian immigrant and a "Feng shui" fans as well. She believed that people born in the Year of Tiger would have many merits, such as "lovely, brave, passionate and natural leadership". In ancient China, people regarded the sign "王" on tigers' forehead as the symbol of "the King". The mark of tiger was also used in battlefield as the symbol fearlessness and victory.

## **Article 18:**

### **“民以食为天”——感受新西兰华人餐馆的今昔变迁**

日期:2010-01-19 09:00:59 阅读: 3560 来源:中新网

华人移民走到哪都喜欢开餐馆，“民以食为天”到哪都是一样的真理，对华人来说更是放之四海而皆准的。这里面的奥妙还在于，开餐馆不但解决了就业问题，还解决了吃饭问题。不管怎样，中国人觉得抡起炒勺和菜刀来，感觉还是最踏实的。

据说，在 1976 年以前，当地中餐馆上的是“酱油米饭”，品种比较单一。这当然和那时中国人的腰包有关系，和华人少也有关系，光顾的人不多，老外也不习惯中餐的口味，所以“酱油米饭”成了漂泊在这里的华人餐桌上的主食，就不足为奇了。

有谁见证了新西兰日渐兴隆的中餐馆？

曾经是驻新西兰的中国大使陈文照回忆说，1976 年他第一次到访新西兰时，在首都惠灵顿住了 3 个星期。当时，惠灵顿的中餐馆非常少，他和同事只好天天吃西餐。有一天，他们在市中心的古巴街上突然发现一个中国酒家，内心顿感狂喜。但当他们走进餐馆后却大失所望：这里的菜不中、洋不洋。比如鸡蛋炒饭，他们本以为会是想想都要流口水的鸡蛋加葱花的扬州炒饭，没想到炒出来的米饭里加了其他原料，半生不熟的，非常硬，还放了酱油。老板娘是广东人，看他们是家乡来的，特地又给他们做了地道的中国菜。陈文照问老板娘：“为什么平时不做地道的中餐，比如烟肝尖、炒腰花之类。”老板娘回答说：“这里华人很少，要是餐馆只面向华人，生意就非常难做，为了将就新西兰人的口味，只有‘不中不洋’这唯一的选择。”老板娘当时曾向陈文照透露，她的最大愿望就是办一家像样的中餐馆。

20 年后，和中國大陸一样，餐馆也发生了很大的变化。陈文照回忆说，1998 年他再赴新西兰的时候，新西兰各大城市的中餐馆都很多。比如奥克兰，已不是几家餐馆了，几十家也不止，其中有一家广东餐馆，门面很大，能摆四五十桌。

“这些变化主要有四点：一是中餐馆比原来多了，二是中餐馆的档次提高了，三是中餐馆的饭菜地道了，四是新西兰人也来光顾了。而且，新西兰人都不吃那种‘酱油炒饭’，就爱吃地道的淮扬菜里的扬州炒饭！”陈文照说到此时，眼里冒着光，倍感欣慰。

陈文照说，炒腰花当年在新西兰是没人吃的，现在则在新西兰很负盛名。有一天早晨，陈文照去惠灵顿附近的一个农贸市场。那个集市早上五六时就开张。当他走到卖猪肉的一个摊位时，看见告示上用英文写着：猪下水已售完。这让陈文照心中一热。“我感受很深，因为我以前去的时候，卖肉的人都把猪下水剔出去，认为是脏东西不能吃，而现在却变得供不应求。这说明中餐在新西兰的影响很大。”

出国前我也以为新西兰吃不到动物下水的，没料到第一天到超市里，就看到鸡肝的价格竟然高达每磅 10 多元纽币，而且市场上还供不应求。看来，改革开放 30 年来，不仅大陆情况天翻地覆，海外华人的生活也是翻天覆地。呵呵，这是可以自豪地书上一笔的！

没料到 2008 年下半年以来，一场金融危机搞得人心惶惶，裁员、经济衰退、失业救济、倒闭，是媒体上出现频率最高的词汇，也影响着每一个新西兰人。那一阵子新西兰储备银行经济分析师认为，新西兰真正迎接金融风暴将在 2009 年 1 月，而且言之凿凿。这就意味着从 2009 年 1 月起，新西兰经济将进入全面衰退。而 2008 年出现的经济危机端倪，只不过是黑暗到来前的预兆。

这些足以让新西兰人忧心忡忡。首先是新西兰国内有 11% 的企业开始陆续裁员，失业率急剧上升，不少失业者只能靠社会福利来维持全家生计。例如银行业，总部设在澳大利亚的澳新银行，继在澳、新两国裁掉 200 名前台工作人员和 500 名后台工作人员后，最近又宣布将在新西兰裁员 200 人，这些人员基本上是管理层。我女儿所属的奥林匹克计算机软件开发公司，原以为只要削减一下每个员工的工作日，尽量可以不裁员，但是到了今年 3 月，也不得不削减人员。

餐馆是经济的晴雨表，经济好坏，餐馆马上就会表现出来。

去年开始每个家庭上餐馆的次数明显减少，很多人开始自己动手在自家院子里开辟出一片菜地。本来，自己种些爱吃的或蔬菜店里卖得比较贵的菜，是华人的“专利”，洋人的院子里比较注重栽培花草。眼下，面对百年不遇的金融危机，一些洋人也顾不得鸟语花香了，纷纷开荒种菜，倘若金融危机缠绵不休，至少也不至于饿肚子。

然而，金融危机对华人餐馆的影响倒不是很明显，餐馆这段时间更是灯红酒绿。这些，表明了新西兰华人生活相对比较富足，也可看出，经济危机似乎开始走出了低谷。

新西兰的海鲜非常有名。因此，奥克兰每年都会举办海鲜美食节，活动将呈现豪拉基湾及邻近海域捕获的各式鱼鲜。这不只是一个庆典活动，也为市民们提供了一次受教育的机会与尝试海鲜的体验。

来新西兰 8 年了，很早就听说有家位于码头储油区附近的海鲜餐馆。对它，正负两面的评价都有，但大多来此的人，说到它印象最深的就是一贵。

今天是女儿的生日，我们决定去尝尝鲜。在奥克兰市区绕了半天，导航仪指示着方向，牵引着我们在码头周围瞎逛。没办法，一查地图才发现，原来这里道路整修改道了，要找的这家海鲜餐馆其实就在眼前。奇怪的是，这家赫赫有名的餐馆其实一点都不起眼，还不如我们住处附近广东人开的“兴龙阁”海鲜餐馆。餐馆就像大陆的海鲜大排档，只是因为这里的海货新鲜出名，才引得众多的饕餮之徒趋之若鹜。

看华人餐馆生意兴隆，华人在海外的地位也日渐提升，从一个角度看出了祖(籍)国经济越加强大的事实，在海外的中国人的腰杆子，感觉也挺了起来。(摘自美国《侨报》)

## (Translations)“Bread is the staff of life” - the changes of Chinese restaurants in New Zealand

Date: 2010-01-19

Readers: 3560

Source: China-New Zealand Net

Chinese immigrants seem to prefer running restaurants while they are overseas. “Bread is the staff of life” is the truth everywhere in the world, and especially for Huaren no matter where they are. The secret lies that running a restaurant would not only resolve the problem of employment but also the problem of eating. Anyway, Chinese tend to feel most comfortable while they pick up the

chopper in the kitchen.

It is said that the menu of the local Chinese restaurant used to be singular before 1976, even including “soy sauce rice”. It is of course related with Chinese people’s funds at that time, and also the less population of Huaren. With few Huaren and foreigner customers who were not used to Chinese food, it was not surprised that ‘soy sauce rice’ became the main food for Huaren floating overseas.

Who have witnessed the increasing prosperity of Chinese restaurant in New Zealand?

Chen Wenzhao, the former ambassador of China in New Zealand, recalled that he stayed in Wellington for three weeks when he first visited New Zealand in 1976. At that time, there were very few Chinese restaurants in Wellington, so he had to eat western food with colleagues every day. One day, they suddenly saw a Chinese restaurant in Cuba Street in the city center and became excited. But they were so disappointed when they walked into the restaurant because the food there was neither Chinese style nor Western style. Taking “rice fried with egg” for example, they thought it would be the delicious fried rice added with onions and eggs. But unexpectedly, the fried rice was added with other materials, very hard and even with soy sauce. The owner was Cantonese. She then especially made the authentic Chinese food after learning that Mr. Chen and his friend were from China. Chen Wenzhao asked the owner, “Why don’t you make the authentic Chinese food, like fried liver tip, fried kidney and so forth?” The owner answered, “There are few Huaren in local. If the restaurant is only targeted at Chinese, the business will be very hard to do. In order to adapt to New Zealanders’ tasted, ‘mixed Chinese and western’ food is the only choice”. She also revealed that her biggest wish was to open an authentic Chinese restaurant.

Twenty years later, great changes have taken place in Chinese restaurant businesses, as well as in mainland China. Chen Wenzhao recalled that there were many more Chinese restaurants in different big cities when he visited New Zealand again in 1998. Taking Auckland for example, there were far more than several dozens of Chinese restaurant among which is a Canton restaurant with capacity of forty to fifty tables.

“There are four main changes: the first is there are more numbers of Chinese restaurants; the second is that the grade of restaurants is improved; the third is the food become authentic; the last is that New Zealanders also become regular customers. Besides, New Zealanders don’t eat ‘soy sauce rice’ any longer and prefer the authentic ‘fried rice with eggs and onions!’” It could see the excited light in his eyes when Chen Wenzhao said so.

Chen Wenzhao also said that there used to be no one eating fried kidney in New Zealand before but this dish became very popular now. One morning Chen Wenzhao went to a near market which opened 5:00 a.m. When he came up to a butcher’s shop, he saw a notice in English - “today’s pork kidney has been sold out”. It touched Chen Wenzhao’s heart immediately, “I have a deep feeling about it. Because we I went to the market in the past, the butcher always ticked off the pig kidney since they believed it was so dirty for eating. But now the pig kidney became a short supply, which proved that Chinese food has had great influence in New Zealand”.

I thought myself that I might not be able to eat animal entrails when I went to New Zealand. But

on the first day when I went to the supermarket, it was surprised to find that the price of the chicken liver was even more than 10 dollars and also in short supply. It seems that great changes have not only taken place in mainland China but also in all Chinese overseas' lives after 30 years of opening and reform policy. Oh, this is really very proud to write!

However, it was not expected that the financial crisis in 2008 gave rise to the panic and the words like economic recession, unemployment, bankruptcy and so forth became the most frequently vocabulary on the media, which affected every New Zealanders. At that time economic analysts of New Zealand Reserve Bank believed with certainty that New Zealand would confront the real financial storm in January of 2009. It meant that New Zealand would enter the era of all round economic recession since January of 2009. The financial crisis of 2008 was just the omen before the dark arrived.

This has already made New Zealanders worried enough. The first was that about 11% of New Zealand companies began the redundancy and the unemployment rate increased sharply. Many unemployed people had to survive with government welfare. Taking bank industry for example, the ANZ bank with headquarter in Australia announced recently that it would lay off 200 staff who would mainly be administrative staff after it had already cut 200 front counter staff and 500 office staff in both New Zealand and Australia. My daughter works at the Olympic Computer Software Development Company and thought that there might not be redundancy if the company could just reduce employee's working days. But the company had to lay off staff after March this year.

The restaurant businesses just seem like the barometer of the economy. You could see from restaurant immediately when the economy turns good or bad.

The numbers of going to the restaurants for every family reduced significantly since last year and many people started to plant vegetables in their backyards. Originally, it is the 'monopoly' of Huaren to grow some favorite vegetables or ones which are expensive to buy from markets. Local people seemed to prefer various plants in their yards. But right now, confronted with the financial crisis, some local people began to grow vegetables as well, giving plants away. If the financial crisis becomes endlessly, at least they will not face the problem of starving.

However, the financial crisis doesn't seem to affect Chinese restaurant businesses much and restaurants seem to have sufficient customs during this period. It indicates that New Zealand Chinese people tend to have relatively stable life and also proves that financial crisis tends to started out of trough.

New Zealand is very famous for seafood. So there will be held seafood festival in Auckland every year, showing the different kinds of seafood around Hauraki Gulf. The event is not only a festival, but also provides an opportunity for public education and experience of tasting seafood.

I have been in New Zealand for 8 years and heard a long time ago that there is a seafood restaurant in the oil storage area near the harbor. There are both positive and negative evaluations about the restaurant, but with one deep impression in common - expensive.

Today is my daughter's birthday and we decided to have a try. We drove around Auckland downtown for a long time and kept circling the harbor according to the guide of GPS. Without a clue, we had to look up the map, only to find that the original road was in diversion. The fact is the restaurant is just in front of us. Strangely, this famous restaurant is not prominent at all from its look, not like the Cantonese "Xing Long House" seafood restaurant. The restaurant here is just like the seafood booth in China. It is because the freshness of the food here that attracts a large number of customers.

Seeing the Chinese restaurant business is booming and the status of overseas Chinese has upgraded, we could assume the fact from a different angle that it is because of the increasingly power of the motherland's economy. Meanwhile, as overseas Chinese, we also feel our backs quite up straight now (source from U.S. "Qiaobao").

## Article 19:

### 新西兰震区救援工作专业有序(组图)

日期:2010-09-10 09:08:14 阅读: 231 来源:新华网

“正是因为每个人平时都严格照章办事，才可能有今天的零死亡奇迹”



9月7日，在新西兰克赖斯特彻奇街头，两名市民骑车经过在地震中受损的建筑。在新西兰皇家地质与核科学研究所工作的华人地震专家、高级研究员余嘉顺说，新西兰建筑法一个最重要的原则是，强震发生时，有关设计和建设必须能保证建筑物不倒塌。新西兰处于地震多发带，非常重视预防地震灾害，在建筑规划设计等方面制定了较高标准，做了大量工作。另外，新西兰在一些新建的重要建筑物及桥梁上均采用了结构隔震减震装置。当地政府有关部门多年来大力普及地震知识，使普通民众都清楚地震发生后如何沉着应对灾害。新华社发（张铨摄）

### 新华网消息：

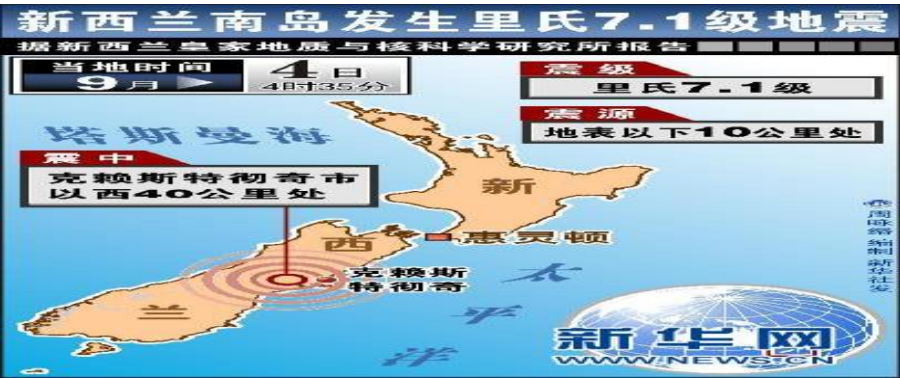
新西兰时间4日4时35分（北京时间4日零时35分），新西兰南岛中部发生里氏7.1级地震，克赖斯特彻奇成为受地震影响最大的城市。《参考消息》记者冒着不断发生的强烈余震，以最快速度赶往克赖斯特彻奇市。

### 华人仅有财产损失

记者在采访中了解到，居住在克赖斯特彻奇的华人华侨和留学生均安好，但有不同程度的财产损失。一些华人商店外墙倒塌，货品摔坏或受到污染。20天前刚到这里的来自中国四川的一批留学生，因为汶川地震的关系，此次也受到了惊吓。

华商胡安琪在市中心哥伦布大街的一家百货店屋顶受损严重，里面的家具、商品被砸坏，7日保险公司工作人员对损失进行了评估。因为之前

她购买了重大财产险，保险公司会赔付大部分损失。但另一位华商则因为没有购买保险，只好自己为遭毁坏的商品买单，承担 10 多万新元的损失。这对小本经营者来说，无疑是巨大的负担。胡女士在新西兰生活工作多年，她深有感触地对记者说，自己以前对新西兰一些部门办事程序烦琐非常不满，但此次地震改变了她的看法：“正是因为包括建筑商在内的每个人平时都严格照章办事，才可能有今天的零死亡奇迹。”



图表：新西兰南岛发生里氏 7.1 级地震 新华社发



9月4日，在新西兰南岛克赖斯特彻奇市，一家超市的商品在地震后散落在地上。新西兰南岛4日凌晨发生强烈地震后，新西兰民防部当天宣布南岛克赖斯特彻奇市及其周边地区进入紧急状态。据新西兰皇家地质与核科学研究所报告，新西兰南岛4日凌晨发生里氏7.1级地震，目前已造成2人重伤，部分建筑物受损。新华社发（王浩摄）

在克赖斯特彻奇开设中医诊所多年的林医生则显得很平静。他说，自己经历过多次地震，已经能坦然面对这一切。位于城市西南部的家是较新的建筑，在地震中完好无损，不过家里的玻璃杯和花瓶被摔碎。经过评估，诊所建筑也无大碍，停业一天后，现在已正常接诊。

华人徐叶明在1976年唐山大地震发生时正住在北京一幢楼房里。他7日接受记者采访时说：“这次地震一发生，我就觉得震级不小。但目前看来，我们的生活没有受到太大影响。”他认为新西兰政府的救灾应对措施行之有效，有条不紊。“对于普通民众，政府现在主要是保证饮用水和食品供应，对于房屋受损严重的人和老弱病残，政府给予的照顾更多一些。关于民众财产损失，保险公司已经表态会积极理赔，大家的心理压力不算太大。

人们这两天都在各自清理泥沙，环卫部门则派来垃圾车将泥沙运走。”徐先生特别提到说，由于多数民居内侧是木结构，砖是贴在外层，即使倒塌也是向外，所以即使余震频繁，待在家里也应该没有大碍。





9月8日，参与新西兰震后救援的工程人员在南岛最大城市克赖斯特彻奇市中心清理遭严重损毁的建筑。新西兰政府当日表示，4日在克赖斯特彻奇市以西40公里处发生的里氏7.1级地震造成的经济损失可能会高达40亿新西兰元（约合28亿美元）。新华社记者黄兴伟摄

### 救援工作专业有序

在地震灾区现场，记者看到救援工作正平静有序地展开。参加灾后救援的部门主要是消防队、警察、民防部、军队、救护车队、电力公司、工程部门等。实施中心城区封锁、维持现场秩序的主要是军人和警察。负责房屋评估和实施管道抢修的是相关公司专业人员。20支房屋紧急维修队伍忙着抢修具有历史意义的建筑和对公众构成危险的房屋。清理瓦砾堆的工程人员也都戴着头盔，身穿工作服，用专业工具进行操作。

连日来，市政府跟各部门紧密联系，并定时向外界发布有关善后的信息，比如公开医院、法院、公共交通、学校、超市的服务情况，或者针对饮水、保健、供暖照明、通讯等事项向市民作出建议和指导。市政府说，市民可以拨打免费热线电话，以寻求帮助或了解最新的灾后资料。热线提供40种不同语言（包括普通话、广东话）的专业实时口译，协助不懂英语的市民。

原为艺术展览场地的现代艺术馆，在地震后变成了各部门聚集一起商讨善后事宜的危机处理中心。所有展厅变成不同部门的工作间，身穿不同颜色工作服的工作人员及义工，在来不及搬走的艺术展品中穿梭忙碌。而中心最常见的，就是一张张贴了不同告示或标志的地图，标志代表着该处出现不同程度的状况，工程人员的目标就是搬走地图上各式碍眼的标志，以恢复城市原有的状态。



9月6日，新西兰民防部宣布，将在克赖斯特彻奇实施的紧急状态延长至8日。克赖斯特彻奇震后治安稳定，市中心连续两晚实施宵禁。这是9月4日在新西兰克赖斯特彻奇市拍摄的工作人员勘察在地震中受损建筑的资料照片。

### 市长保证用好善款

市长鲍勃·帕克从6日起每日定时向传媒汇报最新的善后工作进度。他呼吁市民在危难时刻保持团结，并表示有信心照顾好城内所有人，包括年老和独居人士。

据初步估计，包括克赖斯特彻奇市在内的坎特伯雷地区可能会有10万间房屋因地震受到不同程度的损坏，不过其中大部分是轻微受损。目前，新西兰政府已决定提供500万新西兰元（约合2400万元人民币）给克赖斯特彻奇市长灾害救助基金。此外，有关部门已经从紧急工程基金中筹集到900万新西兰元的资金用于修复道路。政府还将提供后续财政支持。

与此同时，新西兰的一些大公司、私营机构和民众正踊跃向灾区捐款。一些华人社团也发出了捐款倡议。市长帕克表示，政府会仔细考虑将款

**(Translations) New Zealand earthquake relief work is professional and in order (with photos)**

(Date: 2010-09-10 09:08:14      Readers: 231      Source: Xinhua Net)

It is because of everyone's strict accordance to the rules that the zero-death miracle happened today.

On 7th of September, two citizens riddled by the buildings damaged after the earthquake in Christchurch, New Zealand. Yu Jiashun, Huaren earthquake expert and senior researcher worked in Royal New Zealand Institute of Geological and Nuclear Science, said that the most important principle of New Zealand Building Act is that the relevant design and construction must ensure not to collapse when the earthquake occurs. New Zealand is located in the earthquake-prone zone and has paid great attentions on the prevention of earthquake disasters, in terms of higher standard and a lot of work in architectural planning. In addition, the structure isolation damping devices were used in a number of important new buildings and bridges in New Zealand. The local government also has vigorously popularized the knowledge of the earthquake for many years, making people know how to calmly deal with earthquake disasters. Xinhua News Agency (photo shot by Zhang Xuan)

Xinhua Net news:

4:35 a.m. on the 4th at New Zealand time (0:35 a.m. on the 4th at Beijing time), the earthquake of magnitude 7.1 Richter occurred in central South Island of New Zealand and Christchurch became the city most severely affected by the earthquake. Reporters of "Cankao Messengers" rushed to Christchurch on the risk of continuous strong aftershocks.

*There are only property damages for Huaren*

The reporter learned from the interview that Huaren, Huaqiao and Chinese international students living in Christchurch were all right, only with different degrees of property damages. Some outside walls of Huaren shops collapsed and products were broken or contaminated. A group of Chinese international students from Sichuan province just arrived here 20 days ago. Due to the Wenchuan earthquake, they were also frightened this time.

Huayi Chinese Hu Anqi whose store roof was heavily damaged in Colombo Street, city center, with furniture and goods smashed inside. The insurance company staff assessed the damage on 7th. Since she bought major property insurance, the company would pay the most part of loss. But for another Chinese businessman who didn't buy any insurance, he had to pay for the destroyed products, taking the loss of more than 10 million dollars. For small business man, it is undoubtedly a huge burden. Ms Hu lived and worked in New Zealand for many years and she told the reporter that she used to be very unsatisfied at cumbersome procedures of some departments in New Zealand. But through this earthquake she changed her mind, "It is just because everyone including construction businessmen that were all strictly accordance to the rules that the zero-death miracle happened today."



Chart: Magnitude 7.1 Richter earthquake occurred in South Island of New Zealand (Xinhua News Agency)

On 4th of September, in New Zealand South Island city of Christchurch, a supermarket' goods scattered on the ground after the earthquake. After the strong earthquake on 4th, New Zealand Civil Defence Ministry announced immediately on the day Christchurch and its surrounding area into a state of emergency. According to the reports from Royal New Zealand Institute of Geological and Nuclear Sciences, magnitude 7.1 earthquake occurred on 4th in Christchurch, causing two people severely injured and some buildings damaged. Xinhua News Agency (photo shot by Wang Hao)

Dr. Lin who opened clinic in Christchurch for many years looked very calm. He said he has gone through many earthquakes and thus is able to calmly deal with that. His house located in southwest city is a relatively new building and no damage occurs in the earthquake, only with some glasses and vases broken. After inspection, the clinic building is all right and back to reopen after one day closed.

Huaren Xu Ming lived in a building of Beijing when Tangshan earthquake happened 1976. He said in the interview on 7th, "When the earthquake happened, I could feel it is not a small one. But for the current situation, our life has not been seriously affected". He said that New Zealand government carried out effective relief work. "For general citizens, the government mainly guaranteed the supply of drinking water and food. While for the people suffered severe damages to their houses, the government gave more cares. In terms of public property losses, the insurance companies already announced to take all claims initiatively. So the citizens didn't seem to have much pressure now.

People these days have cleaned sands and mud separately and the environment protection department has sent trucks to carry away the rubbish". Mr. Xu specially mentioned that most houses are wooden structure for inner layer, with bricks attached to the out layer. Even if the collapse happens, it will fall towards the outside. So it is safe to stay at home due to the frequent aftershocks.

On 8th of September, engineering staff who attended the relief work in Christchurch city center cleaned up the building severely damaged in the earthquake. New Zealand Government announced the same day that the economic losses caused by the earthquake may be as high as 4 billion NZ dollars (about 2.8 billion US dollars).

Xinhua News Agency (photo shot by the reporter Huang Xingwei)

#### *Relief work is professional and in order*

In the earthquake scene, the reporter saw the relief work is carried out peacefully and orderly. Participants in relief work are mainly fire department, police, civil defense, military, ambulance teams, power companies, engineering departments and so forth. Police and soldiers are mainly in charge of blocking central city and maintain public order. Professional staff of relevant companies is responsible for the house inspection and pipeline repair. 20 emergency housing repair and maintenance teams are busy with fixing the historic buildings and those which will endanger the

public. Rubble cleaning staffs are also wearing the helmets and overalls, with professional tools for operation work.

The City Council kept close contacts with the various departments in recent days and regularly released information or announcement to the public about rehabilitation plan, including publications of service conditions in hospitals, courts, public transports, schools and supermarkets, as well as advices and guides on drinking water, health care, heating, lighting and communications. The City Council said that all citizens could dial free hotline to seek help or information on the latest situations. The hotline provided with more than 40 different languages (including Mandarin and Cantonese) interpreters, insisting citizens who don't speak fluent English.

The place which is originally the modern art Museum now becomes the center for different departments to discuss the various relief works. All exhibition halls are changed into different working departments, with busy staffs and volunteers in different color uniforms walking through the art exhibits which have no time to be moved out yet. The most common thing in this center is the posted notice or sign of different announcement or map, marking the latest situations in different locations. The engineering staffs' goals are to move all kinds of prominent marks in the maps in order to restore the status of original city.

On 6th of September, New Zealand Civil Defense Ministry announced that the emergency relief work will be extended to 8 days in Christchurch. Christchurch is in order and stability after the earthquake and has curfew for two consecutive nights. This is the photo profile shot on 4th of September in Christchurch. Professional staff is inspecting the buildings damaged in the earthquake

#### *The mayor guarantees to make good use of the donations*

From 6th, the Christchurch mayor Bob Parker regularly reported the latest progress of rebuilding work to the media. He called on the public solidarity in the crisis and expressed his confidence in taking good care of all citizens, including elderly and people living alone.

According to the preliminary assessment, in Canterbury region including Christchurch City, there will be nearly 100,000 houses subject to different degrees of earthquake damage; but mostly damages are minor. Currently, the New Zealand government has decided to provide 5 million NZ dollars (about 24 million RMB Yuan) to the Christchurch mayor for disaster relief funds. In addition, the relevant authorities have already raised 90 million dollars from emergency engineering funds for road rehabilitation. The government will also provide follow-up financial support.

Meanwhile, many New Zealand large companies, private institutions and the public actively make donations to the disaster area. Some Chinese community also advocated donations. The mayor Parker claimed that the government would carefully use the money for those who are in need.

#### **Article 20:**

## 我觉得在新西兰的华人生活是丰富多彩的

作者:呼吸 日期:2006-03-22 12:00:00 阅读: 93 来源:Skykiwi 编辑部

作为七旬的老翁的我，为了家庭团聚，来纽国居住已经有两年多了，其间所见所闻和所经阅的事情不少，其中有几件小事，使我记忆犹新，久久不能忘怀。

### 一、 祖国同胞的帮助

那是二 00 三年四月下月，我偕同老伴乘搭纽航班机，经香港来纽国，那时正是萨斯肆虐香港的可怕时刻，在飞机上很多人都戴上了防传染口罩，当班机安全降落在奥克兰机场的时候，这时身处异国境地的我，见到纽国蓝天白云的美丽风光，心情万分兴奋。

经安检后，我们用车子推着行李来到了候机厅，但未见我的女儿来接机，心情马上着急起来。市的，为了避免萨斯的传染，我们应该尽快离开这个旅客众多的地方呀！我和老伴推着行李车子在候机厅兜了几个圈子，还未见女儿的到来，心里越来越着急，是时，我突然想起了打电话，但举目相望，好像全是洋人面孔。因我不懂英文，使我有嘴不能说。我焦急地环顾四周，幸好见到了一个十三四岁华裔面孔的女孩，我立刻走上前去询问她如何打电话的事，她指点我可以到售货柜台前询问询问，我到柜台前一看，全是洋人，怎能问呢？！何况我当时口袋只是一些人民币。当我焦急万分而又无能为力的时候，眼前突然出现一位华裔留学生模样的年轻人，他很有礼貌的告诉我：“他在女孩身边听到我询问如何打电话的事，并询问我是否需要帮忙，他听了我的意见之后，即时从袋子里拿出他的手机，拨打了我告诉他的我的亲人电话号码，电话很快接通了。我的女儿很快就来到了我们的面前。我真感谢这位从祖国来纽留学的年轻人，他急同胞所急，主动上前帮助我俩老夫妇顺利地找到了亲人。

今年九月十日中午 12 时，使奥克兰医院预约我老伴体检的时间，当天清早，女儿驾车送我们到了该所医院后，即赶时间转程上班去了。我陪同老伴在医院候诊室一直等候到中午 12 时，还未见有翻译来联系，因不懂英文，有口难言。是时，幸好见到有一位华人面孔的中年男子走到病人挂号柜台前，大家打个招呼之后，得知他是来接母亲出院的。手里还提着给母亲吃的东西，我迫不及待地把握老伴超时而未有体检的情况告诉他，他即时用英语吧我老伴的情况告诉柜台值班工作人员，值班洋人接着拨了电话想找翻译，但可惜这时没有翻译。怎么办？这位中年华人叫我们稍等一会，待他转入病房把母亲要吃的东西交给母亲后，很快就走回到我们的身边，毫不犹豫地充当起我老伴的义务翻译来了，从帮我老伴挂号到带我老伴找医生体检完妥，化了一个多小时。事后，这位中年华人还带着他的母亲和我们道别。经了解，这位中年华人姓邱，是从台湾移民到纽国来的。啊！台湾同胞，辛苦你了，我们真感谢您！祝您母亲早日康复！祝您家庭幸福！

同在异国的天空下，我们新老华人华侨应该团结起来，互勉互助，互相帮助，力求共同进步，这样做才对呀！可惜在近年来，有个别华裔年轻人，他们来到纽国，不思长进，做出了触犯纽国法律的事，其行为有损华人形象，令人憎恶，我希望那些想要去干坏事的人，迷途知返，以免后悔莫及。

### 二、 当地人的关心

我到纽国后，深深体现到纽国自然风光的优美：蓝天，白云，绿茵，繁花，房舍，鸟语，还有那清新的空气，等等，等等。确实富有诗意。为了充实一下自己的生活，在女儿的帮助下，我和老伴承接了某公司的广告派送工作，一年多来，几乎每天都要风雨不改地推着手推车子往来于我们居住的附近的街区，派送广告，每月的工资收入虽然不高，但能有 20% 所得税交给政府是我高兴的，我们生活在纽国没，能为纽国社会尽点力所能及的义务是理所应该的。故事发生就是有一天，我照常外出派送广告，半途上突然见到一位洋人妇女推着一辆带帆布袋的手推车子停在我的面前，并且笑着对我说了几句英文。当时，我听不懂她说的事什么，只好连忙回答：“sorry. I can’ t speak English.” 她一边友好的笑着，一边做着要把她的手推车子送给我的手势。顿时，我真是被她专程送车子来给我的行为感动了，忙说：“Thank you! Thank you!” 接着，她显现出得偿心愿的样子说了一声“Bye-Bye” 后，转身向前走去了。当时，我目光凝视着她的背影，深深觉得她的背影越来越高大。洋人友善的助人为乐的品格镇是值得我的学习。从这以后，我的老伴也有一辆带帆布袋的手推车子派送广告了。

又有一天，我外出派送广告，半路上遇到骤起的风雨，自己没有带备雨具，只好就近走到一位洋人房子前边的大树下避雨。奈何当时天不作美，雨点越来越大，眼看自己所穿的衣服和车子里的广告纸就要被雨水淋湿了，就在这个急煞人的时刻，就近房子里的洋人拿着雨具，冒着风雨冲到我面前，示意叫我拿着他带来的雨具挡雨。当时，我有了他送来给我的雨具，问题很快就解决了，洋人的行动，真是“雪中送炭”精神可嘉！

平时，我利用一些空闲的时间，在居住的房子后面空地上种植一些瓜菜，这样做，一方面可以颐养心情，一方面又可以品尝到自己亲手栽培的新鲜瓜菜，真是相得益彰，而使用的淋水用具和豆苗上篱的竹子也是隔壁洋人送来给我的。

从以上的故事，使我深深体会到，洋人是友好的，我们在同一天空下，应该和睦相处，为把纽国建设得更富饶更美丽而努力。

### 三、 热心的华人社团，报社和电台

我初到纽国，身处异国他乡，人生地疏，加上语言障碍。不便远行，生活感觉很寂寞。但随着时间的过去，心情慢慢平静下来了。我女儿曾多次驾车送我们到就近的华人社区服务中心活动过，我认为这些华社服社团举办的活动真是内容充实，丰富多彩，对华人确实造福不浅。

另外，还有多份免费的中文报纸，我也是他们的忠实读者。其中刊载出来的文学作品，更是我欢喜阅读的内容。《华人之声》电台的郑成美谈时事，“夕阳之声”的播送，也是我要收听节目。今天，纽西兰华文作家协会举办了中文写作比赛活动，更是使居住在纽国的华人及其他热爱的

中国文化，具有一定中文写作能力的人得到一次很好的写作训练和交流，好得很！

我觉得在纽国的华人生活是丰富多彩的。

(06年征文作品欣赏 作者：赵礼辅)

**(Translations) I think the life of Huaren in New Zealand is varied and colorful**

(Author: Breath Date: 2006-03-22 12:00:00 Readers: 93 Source: Skykiwi Editorial)

As the man in his seventies, I have lived in New Zealand for more than two years for family reunion. I have seen and heard a lot during this period, including a few little things that I can't forget for a long time.

*First, help from Chinese fellows*

That was April of 2003 and I took New Zealand airline with my wife, via Hong Kong to New Zealand. That was the time of horrible SARS epidemic in Hong Kong and many people wore masks of anti-infection on the plane. When the flight arrived safely in Auckland Airport, as a foreigner, I was very excited to see the beautiful scenery of blue sky and white clouds in New Zealand.

After the luggage check, we came to the terminal with luggage trolley. But we got anxious immediately when we didn't see our daughter to pick us up. In order to avoid SARS infection, we should leave this place full of passengers as soon as possible! My wife and I pushed the trolley and circled the terminal for several times, without seeing our daughter. I became more anxious and suddenly thought of making a call. But when I looked around, I saw all foreigners' faces. I didn't speak English, so I couldn't say anything with my mouth. At that time, I luckily saw a thirteen or fourteen year old Asian girl and came up to ask how to make a call. She told me to enquire in the sales counter. But when I came up to the counter, I saw all foreigners there. How could I ask? And I only got RMB in my pocket then. When I was so anxious and helpless at that time, a young man looking like a Chinese student suddenly appeared. He said to me with polite that he heard what I asked beside that girl, and then asked if I need any help. Hearing my story, he quickly took out his cell phone from the pocket and dialed the number I told him. The call was soon got through and my daughter came up to us very quickly. I am really appreciate this young student from China because he understood our urgent needs and helped us find our daughter smoothly.

12 o'clock in the noon this tenth of September was the appointed time for examination of my wife in Auckland hospital. Our daughter drove us to the hospital in the morning and then rushed to work. I accompanied my wife till 12 o'clock in the noon, but there was no translator to contact yet. As we didn't speak English, it was hard to tell. However, it was fortunate to see a middle aged Chinese looking man walking to the counter. We said hello and then learnt that he was here to take his mother out of hospital, with food in his hand for his mother. I couldn't wait to tell him that the examination for my wife was late but no one came to check yet. He immediately told our situation to the staff in the counter. The foreigner staff then made a call for the translator, only to know there was no translator at that time.

What could we do? The middle aged Huaren asked us to wait for a while. He went to the patient room, gave food to his mother, and then returned to us right away, voluntarily as our interpreter. It

took an hour for him to help my wife with registration and medical examination. After that the man said goodbye to us with his mother. We learnt that the middle aged man is Mr. Qiu, an immigrant from Tai wan. Oh! Our Tai wan brother, you helped us a lot and we thank you sincerely! Wish your mother a quick recovery! Wish you a happy family!

Under the same sky of a foreign country, our new and old Chinese Huaqiao and Huaren should unite, mutually encourage and help each other to make progress together. That is the right thing to do. Unfortunately, a few Huayi young men who came to New Zealand made something that broke the law. Their behaviors are abhorrent and damage the Huaren images. I hope those Chinese who want to do bad things could immediately return from the lost to avoid regrets.

*Second, the cares from local people*

When I came to New Zealand, I felt deep in my heart the beauty of natural scenery: blue sky, white clouds, green grassland, colorful flowers, houses, birds, fresh air, and so forth. It is indeed a place with full of poetry. In order to enrich our life here, my wife and I took a job for advertisement delivery with the help of our daughter. During a year time, we almost pushed carts to deliver advertisement everyday around our living hood no matter it rained or not. Though the salary was not much, I was still very happy to give 20% tax to the government. Since we live in New Zealand now, it is our responsibility to contribute to the society here. The story happened one day when I went out for delivery as usual. I saw a foreigner woman halfway pushing a cart with a canvas bag. She stopped in front of me and said some words in English with smile. I didn't understand what she was talking at that time. Then I had to say, "sorry, I can't speak English". She made a gesture of giving me her cart with friendly smile. Suddenly, I was moved by her behavior of making a special trip to send me the cart, and quickly said, 'Thank you! Thank you!' Then she revealed like fulfilling her will and said "Bye-bye". She turned and went back. Watching her back, I felt her back becoming bigger and bigger. The western people's characters of willing to help others is worthy of my study. From then on, my wife and I could have a cart with a canvas for delivery ads.

Another day when I went out sending the ads, it suddenly rained with winds. I had to walk to the tree of the nearest house because I didn't bring any rain gear. The rain was bigger and bigger, and my clothes and ads in the cart almost got wet. At this urgent moment, a local people from the near house rushed to me with his rain gear and gave it to me. The problem was resolved with his help. Local people's action is really like "sending charcoal in snowy weather"!

In the spare time, I like to grow some vegetables in the backyard of our house. To do so, on one hand I can enjoy the fresh food I grow myself, and on the other hand keep a happy mood. The watering equipment and bamboo fence for bean sprouts were given by my foreigner neighbor as well.

From the above stories, I feel deep that foreigners are very friendly here. We are in the same sky, so we should live harmoniously and make contributes to the prosperity and beauty of New Zealand

*Third, warm-hearted Chinese community, newspaper and radio station*

When I first arrived in New Zealand, due to the language problem, I seldom went out and felt very lonely here. But with time passed by, I gradually calmed down. My daughter drove me to the nearest Chinese community service center to attend activities for many times. I think the events organized by Chinese community are informative and rich, which have benefited Huaren a lot.

Besides, there are many free of charge newspapers and I am the loyal readers, too. Some literature work is my favorable reading. “The sound of Huaren” and “the voice of Xiyang” are both my programs for listening. Today, New Zealand Chinese Writers Association held Chinese writing contest, providing an opportunity for Chinese and other people who are interested in Chinese culture in New Zealand to communicate with their written work. It is great!

I think the life of Huaren in New Zealand is varied and colorful

Works of 2006 Chinese Writing Contest

Writer: Zhao Lipu

## Appendix C. Data of forum discussions

Due to the format of discussion forum downloaded from Skykiwi, the limited space of Appendix is not allowed to include the original Chinese version. The followings are the translated edition of five discussions selected from the forum of Skykiwi.

### **(Discussion 1) Back from sea with harvest ~different ways of cooking fish ~plus fresh fried paua!**

(Source: Skykiwi Society>hot topic this week>

Published at 01:33 18/04/2011)

**Sweetcherry:** We have good harvest in recent sea trips, followings are the combined pictures, welcome to seeing.

Location: Little barrier island (picture 1)  
Specially mentioned, we got a butter fish!!! The fish was picked up on the sea ~not dead yet ~struggling to float on the surface of the sea. We just picked it up. Lucky  
~~~ (picture 2)  
Cut the fish into pieces and fried for a little while. Awesome ~~very delicious! (picture 3)  
Look at this big snapper (picture 4)  
Put the fish in the oven with union, ginger and soy sauce; temperature and time depends (Picture 5)  
Diving for paua (picture 6)  
The paua just fitted minimum size requirement; prepare cookers, boil water and then cook the paua (picture 7)  
Put in the instant noodles/ noodles with paua, very satisfied ~ (picture 8)  
Location: nearby the big and little chicken island  
The white water flowers under the island are a group of fish (picture 9)  
Gigging a king fish (picture 10, 11)  
The size is just Ok, but we still released it (picture 12 )  
Another golden snapper (picture 13)  
This time we planned to cook four snappers together within a pot (picture 14)  
Cutting all the rest fish into pieces and wrapped with fish cooking sauce (fish

cooking sauce is available in any Chinese dairy, very easy to make) (picture 15)

Cook bean sprout first for a while (picture 16)

Then cook the fish (picture 17)

Last you can eat, delicious (picture 18)

We didn't waste the rest four fish heads and tails after cutting and used them to make a pot of fish soup. Put some oil first and remember to add Tofu just before the soup is ready. Very fresh and tasted! (picture 19)

After making use of main fish meat, you can throw away the rest fish parts (picture 20)

Continued with the above big and little chicken island, we got a strange pink maomao, the variant (picture 21)

Too many pig fish, look at different size of them (picture 22)

We decided to steam this variant pick maomao first (picture 23)

The fish tasted very fresh for steaming (picture 24)

These paua were bought in south island, beautiful blue shell and they were still alive when mailed to us. (picture 25)

Put butter first (picture 26)

Clean the paua first (remember to take off the paua teeth). Using tissue to suck the water in the paua and then put into pan. Add a little salt, white pepper and fried for both sides. (picture 27)

It is ready to eat ~ with color of light golden, oh my lady gaga... (picture 28, 29)

Very crisp with flavor of butter (picture 30)

Fished (picture 31)

**Criminalminds:** Want to know where to buy paua?

**Jacinta002:** same question, where to buy, and how much?

**Daxian:** same with above

**Sweetcherry:** Reply for the question, paua can be bought at <http://www.gourmetseafood.co.nz>.

**Rosejiang:** Don't you need to wash away the black things on the paua???

**Sweetcherry:** No, you don't, and it can be eaten.

**Benkun:** Thank you for sharing.....

**Peter00649:** Very good, very strong...

**Littleicecream:** Seafood is my favorite...

**Samthe8:** oh, my lady GAGA...

**Tianxincaoyin:** admiring.... big meal with seafood

**Trytrytry:** So much fish, you can eat until next week.

**Lucy9336:** oh my lady gaga ~~~ I love fish!!!

**Waywaywayway:** how to buy fresh paua?????does it taste hard?????

**M10326860:** When can LZ organize such activity?

**Sweetcherry:** how to buy fresh paua?????does it taste hard?????

It is not hard at all, very crisp and tender, awesome in the mouth

**Butter:** so great, can't help drooling

**Pooooony:** hey, did you carry oxygen bottle when diving? Free diver?

**Sweetcherry:** the water is not deep, just for catching paua



**DogDots:** Great guy, next time sell fish to me when you get harvest

**Pooooony:** Did you say you buy paua from South Island? I am curious that paua which my husband caught in diving was not as beautiful as yours, the size were smaller either.

**Ching-ada:** admiring.....

**Mochaxingbingle:** sounds fun.....

**Smallice:** I want to know how much is your boat?

**Xuanermama:** very good, feel so admiring

**4exy:** so lucky to eat it

**Ilovepanda:** paua!!!

**Xiaotianbingabby:** drooling...

**000bear:** asking for paua address

**Wangjing127:** really want to eat

**Hzh5543275hzh:** you are so cool...

**Yangwawa:** Woo! I want to go as well!!

**Changanan:** really good~

**^o^:** I can't stand any more, drooling a lot, hahaha

**Palm:** "I want to know how much is your boat?"

-- Seventy to eighty thousand

**Sweetcherry:** "Great guy, what about selling fish to me when you get harvest next time"

(DogDots posted at 15:19 18/04/2011)

--it is illegal to sell fish which were caught by private people.

**Sweetcherry:** "Did you say you buy paua from South Island? I am curious that paua which my husband caught in diving was not as beautiful as yours, the size were smaller either"

-- The paua your husband got might not be legal. If catching paua by diving, the size mustn't small than 12.5cm.

What I bought are small paua, however, what I caught from sea are big paua.

**Liangyoucanting:** beautiful....

**Samsung2006:** life as fairyland

**Tiantianlan:** Woo, it is so cool...

**James-wjy:** I represent my whole families, to join you!!!

**Sweetcherry:** "I represent my whole families, to join you!!!"

--hahahaha, of course we can do it together sometimes

**Houniaoxinqing:** really want to eat...

**Long666:** oh, my lady gaga

**Dudigongong:** I regretted as soon as I opened this webpage... I haven't had meal yet, but already drooling out.

**Wsawsd:** next time you can try to fry black paua pieces with big fire for 30 seconds, that tastes well~

**Chenyu324:** drooling...

**Miaomeow:** Could you tell me where to buy that south island paua? I am really interested, many thanks.

**Crystal qian:** So great and you are very good at cooking

**Pooooomy:** "The paua your husband got might not be legal. If catching paua by diving, the size mustn't small than 12.5cm."



Want to eat badly

**Yunaduo:** drooling...

**Doublejo:** oh, goodness, so admiring such wonderful life!!

**Heian:** watch until drool, haha, admiring so much

**TimLi:** question:

Did you cook those delicious fish dished on your boat?

**Aprilz:** What does paua call in English in that website? Why I can't find it

**Paggy:** That pink maomao fish looks pink and tender, so cute

**Sweetcherry:** "Did you cook those delicious fish dished on your boat?"

--I cooked them at home

**Sweetcherr:** "What does paua call in English in that website? Why I can't find it"

-- Reply for the question, paua can be bought here: <http://www.gourmetseafood.co.nz>

**Beck:** nice...admiring

**Danli:** very enjoyable, thanks for sharing. Clothes are wetted by my mouth water

**Mengyang:** so admiring, I want to go fishing as well, but don't know how. Can you share your fishing experience, for example, how to rent boat, how to dive...thanks

**Sweetcheery:** "so admire, want to go fishing as well, but don't know how. Can you share your fishing experience, for example, how to rent boat, how to dive...thanks"

--The boat is mine, and you can take diving lessons first.

**MaxPower:** that way of cooking paua looks interesting

**Yingning:** How to clean the fish - taking off the fish scales?

**Lookdi:** cool...

**Baobao:** Become drooling by just watching, admiring, decide to eat boil fish tonight.

**Whshen75:** I don't know whether pregnant woman can eat such paua? LZ is really rich; the boat costs 6-70000 dollars...

**Mylovetom:** support...

m.g8: <http://www.oceanzblue.co.nz/nzproducts.aspx> This shop is near Auckland, usually delivered the second day, my personal recommended ...

**Baby-Vicky:** I love those fish, I can smell the fresh flavor by just looking at the picture~

**Wutongzhi:** I want to eat seafood, too

**Badbb:** Do you have girl friend? If not, you go fishing, I will cook...

**Sweetcherry:** "Do you have girl friend? If not, you go fishing, I will cook..."

---Haha, I am a girl

**Jesswu:** There are many sands in the paua surface where it looks like villus. It took me much time to take off the black thing, using the chop knife. Very tied..

## **(Discussion 2) Does anyone buy Life Insurance?**

(2011-3-19 22:28)

**QQbearbiscuit:** Does anyone buy Life Insurance? I am still considering. Are there any suggestions?

**Colorfulheaven:** Since it is a frequent asked question, so I will give you a frequent answer...It depends; there are cheap ones and expensive ones.

**Mornington:** It depends on whether there is any one or thing that you can't leave with.

**Masterq:** It depends on personal need. If you have parents and parents-in-law, you can buy Life Insurance; if you have children, you can buy Saving Insurance; for your family, you can buy Medical Insurance. Some companies will buy Life Insurance for their staffs.

**QQbearbiscuit:** I bought the Healthy Insurance offered by Post Office, but don't know whether I should buy Life Insurance. Besides, there are too many terms and conditions which I don't understand either...really don't know from which company I should buy the insurance.

**Masterq:** Medical Insurance includes many categories, for instance family doctor, specialist, stay in hospital, and so forth. It depends on your own need. If you don't understand, you can find some agency for inquiries. Just remember to avoid buying too much insurance under agencies' persuasion, because the premium now rises like a shuttle.

**Hx500:** Usually the company will buy insurance for you...

**Colorfulheaven:** One of the Life Insurance is that the insurance company will pay you money when your life ends. You need to write a will if you buy this insurance.

**QQbearbiscuit:** "One of the Life Insurance is that the insurance company will pay you money when your life ends. You need to write a will if you buy this insurance."

Ha-ha, then I will write to my husband in the will: my dear husband, the 10,000Gold from our World of Warcraft game account will all go to you after I died.

**Judyzhu81:** Buying Life Insurance aims to insure your partner. Our families all bought it... the premium is very expensive!

**Siyasiya:** I bought it, for my parents, from ASB, very expensive.

**Bringmetogo:** I bought from AIA. Buying insurance is for just in case..

My parents don't know. If they know, they won't give signature to me. So I bought for others.

**Sami:** From the reminder from Chinese Consulate, the situation in China is that we can completely depend on our children to take care of us when we are getting old. But since we are here, you have to buy insurance for yourself...

**Gretali:** Well, it seems that I should buy insurance for my son. If not, he has to live on his own after I die in the future. So life will be better if he has a certain amount of money. But for Life Insurance and Medical Insurance, which one should I buy first? It will be too expensive to buy both together.

**Happi2:** To brothers and sisters who have jobs now, please seriously consider the following sentences, "because people sacrificed their health to make money, so they have to sacrifice money to restore health later on. Because of anxiety to the future, people forget to enjoy today. As a result, people neither live in today nor live in the future. People live in the dream of eternal life, and die without truly lived."

**Wufu:** It is not fun to buy something now which will be used in a hundred year time, especially in inflation times. I should take heart.

**Sami:** "It is not fun to buy something now which will be used in a hundred year time, especially in inflation times."

Who has the ability to buy thing which will be used in a hundred year time? The insurance company will insure you up to 80 years old at most. Besides, who can guarantee to live till 80?

**Masterq:** "Well, it seems that I should buy insurance for my son. If not, he has to live on his own after I die in the future. So life will be better if he has a certain amount of money. But for Life Insurance and Medical Insurance, which one should I buy first? It will be too expensive to buy both together."

If only for your son, you can buy Increasing Saving Insurance which can be taken back. Life Insurance could be bought for both husband and wife, making each other becoming the beneficiary. For Medical Insurance, you only need to buy single one for the whole family, with many offers.

This world is changed terribly, with potential danger everywhere. The premium rises year after year, including car insurance, house insurance, medical insurance, life insurance, children savings insurance... the salary all goes to the insurance company.

**Carrot:** It depends on each one's different situation.

**Wufu:** "Who has the ability to buy thing which will be used in a hundred year time? The insurance company will insure you up to 80 years old at most. Besides, who can guarantee to live till 80?"

Me? At least live to 140...I should take heart a lot.

**Gretali:** to Masterq, I am clearer now after seeing your suggestion. The insurance thing is really a mess in my head. I only bought car and property insurance now and always think of preparing something for my son when he grows up. What you said about increasing savings insurance is a new concept. It looks I need to take a research now, thank you.

**Masterq:** My increasing savings insurance was bought from AIA, more than a hundred dollars each month, really expensive for me. Each family has a different situation. So ask for professional agent's advices first. Even if something happens in the future, you may ask him for helping you follow up the procedure, such as medical insurance, etc.

**Gretali:** to Masterq, is AIA the Huaren Company which has advertisement on newspaper? (I mean is it the company with a lot of Chinese agents)

Did you look for Huaren agent? Do you think they are reliable and work efficiently? Thank you.

**Masterq:** "is AIA the Huaren Company which has advertisement on newspaper? (I mean is it the company with a lot of Chinese agents) Did you look for Huaren agent? Do you think they are reliable and work efficiently? Thank you."

The Huaren agent is a friend of my friend, very reliable. My Medical Insurance was bought for specialist and staying in hospital (not including family doctor). I paid first and then filled in a form. The money went to the account very soon. Insurance depends on family circumstances and personal capacity. My wife is very easy to be persuaded, so she bought too much and each month's salary all goes to the insurance company directly. I am unhappy about it. But you know, this is the difference between men and house wives.

**Gretali:** to Masterq, don't be sad, and you will always get benefit if you listen to your leader (wife). I think that 'staying in hospital insurance' is very useful. I didn't expect to see this item.

**Masterq:** "don't be sad, and you will always get benefit if you listen to your leader "(wife). I think that "staying in hospital insurance" is very useful. I didn't expect to see this item."

Not like this. Because specialist insurance already includes staying in hospital, for example X-ray, blood test and so forth...or specialist doctor recommended by family doctor (including private doctor)

**Gretali:** It looks that specialist insurance is very useful, because it is too expensive to see a specialist doctor. But I heard that cancer and critical illness insurance is also very important. After all our son is a teenager already, so my husband and I need to make some preparation at

this age. It is really a mess looking at so many insurance categories. Our income is not much.

**Ojiji-tony:** Now my wife and I only had medical insurance and didn't buy others. But we will need to consider buying life insurance and critical illness insurance when we have child several years later. We have no other ways, insurance is very necessary in this poor country where the medical cost is very expensive...

**Masterq:** "It looks that specialist insurance is very useful, because it is too expensive to see a specialist doctor. But I heard that cancer and critical illness insurance is also very important. After all our son is a teenager already, so my husband and I need to make some preparation at this age. It is really a mess looking at so many insurance categories. Our income is not much."

**Masterq:** Each family has a different circumstance, so it depends on personal capacity; goodness.....The lotto I bought yesterday became waste paper again. The god doesn't help me....

**Gretali:** Don't worry, my last week's lotto became waste, either; just to buy a piece of fun and hope, be happy, hehehe,,,

**Gretali:** to Ojiji-tony, yes, it is super expensive. This is a place where it is expensive for no reason; and where people have to struggle; only the beautiful scene makes me happy.

**Tofu:** My family doctor told me that buying the hospital insurance is enough, because it includes specialist. I have to pay more than 80 dollars each month for me and my son, really expensive. Last year it was only 60 dollars. My husband thought it is not worthy. But perhaps women and men have different thoughts.

**Yinman:** If the economic capacity allows, you should buy yourself a life insurance, whether for your children, for your partner, for your parents or for other reasons. If you don't know how to choose due to too many insurance provisions, you may consider selecting an insurance agent where the professional staff could give you a better choice. You can also consider a Huaren insurance agency called "Huaxin" (state that I am not doing the advertisement). Their leader Lee Shenaizhu is very professional and has been in this career for 18 years. She is very nice and you can try. My husband and I bought the insurance from them.

**Guazier:** I only bought medical insurance, not life insurance. I can't afford both, very expensive. Only that medical insurance increases a lot each year.

**Redbishop:** I bought life insurance recently when refinancing, with first two months' free plus discount.

**Insuranceservice:** to brothers and sisters, some basic principle for buying insurance:

1. Premium cost: taking up 5%-10% of total family income
2. Protection order: first for adults, then for children; first for major income person, then for other family members
3. Insurance order: first life insurance, then health insurance (medical, illness, disability), and then income protection.
4. Insurance types: first protection-type, then savings-type (excluding children), and finally investment-type

In fact, if you make a good combination, the premium won't be that expensive. The most important thing is to deal with details.

**Masterq:** "3. Insurance order: first life insurance, then health insurance (medical, illness, disability), and then income protection."

Why first life, then health insurance (medical, illness, disability)? There are more chances of seeing doctors and staying in hospital~~

**Insuranceservice:** Because losing someone will bring the largest economic and emotional impact to a family and there is no other alternative way. Although there may be more chances of using medical insurance, there is a public health system in NZ here. It is not likely to go nowhere for treatment. Then to the worst, Chinese people still have chances of going back China for treatment. Moreover, life insurance is much cheaper than medical insurance and has functions of tax savings and financial management...

**Masterq:** 'Because losing someone will bring the largest economic and emotional impact to a family and there is no other alternative way. Although there may be more chances of using medical insurance, there is a public health system in NZ here. It is not likely to go nowhere for treatment. Then to the worst, Chinese people still have chances of going back China for treatment.

Although there is public health system in NZ, we still see family doctor more often when get ill. Except for medicine cost, it will need 40 dollars each time. If doing a surgery in hospital, you don't need to wait in the queue in private hospital. Talking about going back China for treatment, if you can't be cured in NZ, then doesn't expect to be cured in China. The treatment expenses are not cheap, either.

**Insuranceservice:** "Although there is public health system in NZ, we still see family doctor more often when get ill. Except for medicine cost, it will need 40 dollars each time. If doing a surgery in hospital, you don't need to wait in the queue in private hospital. Talking about going back China for treatment, if you can't be cured in NZ, then doesn't expect to be cured in China. The treatment expenses are not cheap, either."

You are right, medical insurance is indeed very important. If you don't have problem with the budget, of course it will be better if you buy as much as you can. But if you have the limited budget and has to give up some, you should choose the one which will bring your family the most impact.

In fact, you can have a look at which insurance is the most concern for bank when they lend you money. That is the most important insurance type. The thing that the bank think will bring them most risk will be the thing that brings you most risk.

**Masterq:** "You are right, medical insurance is indeed very important. If you don't have problem with the budget, of course it will be better if you buy as much as you can. But if you have the limited budget and has to give up some, you should choose the one which will bring your family the most impact..."

From their interests' perspectives, the bank must focus on your ability to repay. No wonder some people say the bank is the biggest thief. But you can't take it as the only standard~~ anyway, thanks for your professional explanation.

**A121:** ppppppppppppppppppp

**4agefans:** I think the most important thing in NZ is to buy medical insurance,, if you have it, there will be nothing to be worried,,

**Xiaoxiao:** I had insurance. You need to consider your personal circumstance (risk analysis).

**Dot:** "If only for your son, you can buy Increasing Saving Insurance which can be taken back."

A friend of my father was selling insurance when I was in middle school. My parents bought a similar insurance as you said, seeming to be taken out when I am fifties or sixties. I was

unhappy when I knew it, feeling that my parents have to financially support me even when I am getting old. Would I be that useless when I grow up? Of course not. I would live on my own. My father's friend said it was the first time that the beneficiary doesn't agree.

"Life Insurance could be bought for both husband and wife, making each other becoming the beneficiary."

Well, it often happens in movies, which will be the motivation of murder...

**Winnie.s:** It is better to buy when you are young.

**Qzp3900:** I bought all, but hope I will never use them, very contradictory facts...

**Smallrat:** Afraid of being killed by my husband if I buy...Seeing from the movie... becoming inertia thinking...

**Dj223:** We should buy a saving life insurance as all of us are the only child in our families. So what not give our parents a guarantee?

**Dj223:** Buy a basic medical insurance, too. Then you don't need to wait for seeing specialist when you get serious illness. If you have no illness, it will be buying for safe.

**Insuranceservice:** "You can buy a saving life insurance. We are the only child in our families, so what about buying one for our parents."

Yes you are right...just in case that you are gone first, leaving your elderly parents without child. What a miserable situation! In fact the life insurance is very cheap for young people to buy.

For example: 30 years old (don't smoke), to insure 500,000 dollars; girls 25\$ per month and boys 37\$ per month. That is \$5-\$8 per week.

### **(Discussion 3) To the friends who had 'Double Down' of KFC, what do you think of it?**

(Skykiwi community - god's garden)

**Hunkoufan:** To the friends who had 'Double Down' of KFC, what do you think of it?

The popular new product of KFC in Auckland and Wellington finally arrived in Christchurch. I went and tried. It is just two big pieces of chicken added with cheese and bacon between it. The taste is ok. But my personal view is it is not that good for people in Wellington to take a long queue to buy.

**Chongchong:** It is not that good. I still prefer BBQ duck leg with sausage, yummy!

**Libinghenry:** "It is not that good. I still prefer BBQ duck leg with sausage, yummy!"

BBQ duck leg with sausage? Never eat, what is it called?

**Joyce2003:** Well...too much oil.....tastes too fat, I'd rather eat chicken wings

**Libinghenry:** "The popular new product of KFC in Auckland and Wellington finally arrived in Christchurch. I went and tried. It is just two big pieces of chicken added with cheese and bacon between it. The taste is ok. But my personal view is it is not that good for people in Wellington to take a long queue to buy."

I will try tomorrow...

**Hunkoufan:** "BBQ duck leg with sausage? Never eat, what is it called?"

Same question, does KFC sell BBQ duck as well?

**Libinghenry:** "Same question, does KFC sell BBQ duck as well?"

Very curious... Ha-ha



**Hunkoufan:** “I will try tomorrow...”

The power of advertisement is really big. Ha-ha, I heard from my flatmate that he went to buy it in Wellington. The situation of the queue was rare to see in New Zealand. It seems that you can't have it if you are late. It was also reported by TV news.

**Chongchong:** I made it up. KFC doesn't sell BBQ duck!

**Libinghenry:** ‘I made it up. KFC doesn't sell BBQ duck!’

Come here, fellow brothers, drag him out and give him a lesson!

**Hunkoufan:** “Come here, fellow brothers, drag him out and give him a lesson!”

Agree...

**Mrszhang:** Because of curiosity, I tried it with my husband last Friday. It was not that fat as I imagined. Fried very dryly and the size is not big. The overall feeling is I tried it and won't have it for second time~~~~

**Triangle:** It is too big for me... too much meat... very full... and tastes very good...Wakaka (song from South Africa football world cup)...

**Xiaopanger:** Too much oil.....

**Felixhunter:** Just the feeling for the fresh taste, one time is enough!!!

**Hunkoufan:** It seems that it is only matched with kiwi's taste.

**Zsy0129:** Bread with sausage is better than chicken with bacon.

**Andylosay:** “Captain Ben” (a Chinese fast food restaurant) sold twice down before, it is heard that the size is two times as big as KFC's.

**Supertt:** The taste is just ok, not as good as spicy chicken wrap, the one which is added with yellow spicy sauce.

**Suxin:** I feel it is quite delicious, just a little bit salty. But some people with heavy taste would like it.

**Zsy0129:** When Burger King began to sell four-layer-meat burgers, even more people ran to buy it~~I found local people prefer to challenge the limitation... At that time some kiwi even asked for five-layer-meat burgers plus four pieces of cheese. Once after a New Zealander bought the burger, I noticed he pressed the meat very hard and then ate it directly... That scene is almost like a wolf that hasn't eaten food for several days. I got frozen right away...

**Hunkoufan:** “Captain Ben” (a Chinese fast food restaurant) sold twice down before, it is heard that the size is two times as big as KFC's.

I think their chicken burger is big enough. Isn't there the bigger burger?

**Zsy0129:** “I think their chicken burger is big enough. Isn't there the bigger burger?”

I think the chicken burger of Vietnam Fish n Chips in Upper Riccarton is better, especially the just cooked ones. The location is near the clinic, you may try some day.

**Hunkoufan:** “I think the chicken burger of Vietnam Fish n Chips in Upper Riccarton is better, especially the just cooked ones. The location is near the clinic, you may try some day.”

Where it is? I don't know there is a Vietnam Fish n Chips.

**1177xy:** I tried it today, too too too salty, not very good. But the size is big enough that I even can't eat supper. One time is enough and I still prefer spicy chicken wings.

**Adagio:** How many calories are they if you have one?

**Xiaotuoni:** It is better for two to eat...Cheese is too fat...I don't like chicken chest most...too dry

**Hunkoufan:** In conclusion, it is kiwi's taste, identification is over!

**Lastday:** I had double down. It has been a long time of promotion. Just feel a little bit salty.

**Zsy0129:** Next time I will bring burger bun, ha-ha!

**Andylosay:** Twice down is very delicious, just too fat. And feels too full...

**Hunkoufan:** It looks like that foreigners still prefer the food with much oil, but why do they always say our Chinese food has too much oil.

**Statisticalfish:** The spicy chicken wings are much better. I have to keep drinking tea all night after having double down.

**Midou:** It is not delicious at all, the meat is too hard.

**Sea-crystal:** rubbish food~~~rubbish food

#### **(Discussion 4) Love New Zealand too much and never want to leave**

(2011-5-27 20:31)

**Lotte (the person started the post):** I was in the primary school when I heard of the country of New Zealand for the first time. At that time it was said in newspaper that New Zealand workers were exploited by landlords, representing the essence of capitalism. In order to increase benefit, the landlords would rather throw away the milk than giving them to poor people. Then after the year of reforming and opening policy (1978), many friends recommended New Zealand to me and said that the country is the last pure land for human beings, probably excluding South Polar and North Polar. My friends around me all went abroad one by one. Many of them went to New Zealand, the number of whom is only less than that of Canada. I have always dreamed of living in this paradise. After that I would work hard and save money, hoping to study here and get PR, and finally become New Zealander, breathing the most pure and clean air, drinking the natural water which is even cleaner than mineral water in China...

I was very excited to board on the plane to New Zealand two months ago. This was the first time I took plane and couldn't help feeling a little nervous and worried. Luckily, the Chinese passengers sit around me were all very nice, helping me filling in the forms and introducing the natural scene, local culture and long history of New Zealand to me. I was deeply attracted by this mysterious country. But the time of flight was too long for me, like passing several centuries. The food on the plane was very delicious, but too less. After I know I could ask for more food, I got one more meal. The services on board were very patient and considerable.

Looking at the white clouds outside the window, I dreamed of the country that I dreamed everyday-New Zealand. I even couldn't get sleep, worried that I had to fly back to China in case that I didn't wake up when the plane landed. I didn't want to be back again. Finally I saw the land. "Is that New Zealand? It is so beautiful." I asked the young man next to me. He said it was Indonesia. I was silent again. Why it was still not New Zealand after flying so long time?

At last, when I wandered between two flight carbines, it was sounded the unfamiliar English. I asked the young man next to me. He said the plane was about to land in Auckland. What! Auckland? Didn't I make mistake? Is this the city that has Sky Tower; is this the city that is called the hometown of white clouds; is this the city that is most suitable for human to live in the world; is this the city which has zero criminal rate while called wonderful world? I

got excited again. I made a deep breath as soon as I got off the plane. Smells good! It was just the same as I dreamed that the air was filled of flavor of kiwifruit.

I looked around-this is the place where I would work hard and live in the rest of my life. I also saw many western people that I have never seen before. They looked good, with blonde hair, big eyes and tall stature. "I would become one of them in the future." I said to myself.

Well, it is all for today now. The more I write the more excited I am and I almost can't stop writing. I believe I must get PR in the future. This country is so good and I love here very much. There should be no reason that the leaders of New Zealand don't grant me PR.

**LittlePigYaoyao:** My situation is I couldn't go back China because I have stayed in New Zealand for too long time. I am behind the times in China.

**Ddxx:** I don't know what to say.

**174513981:** Waiting for continued story by LZ, without any comments now.

**HeCongcong:** Waiting for the continued story, come on LZ

**17451398:** Hurry up! Waiting for continuing...

**Jiangya:** I only want to say that I can't stay here any longer...I want to go back home as soon as I graduate. Don't want anything else.

**YouLv:** Do you ever think how to get PR? Working in Massage shop or marry a foreigner?  
Come on, LZ

**YaoXiaohe:** "I was shouted by kiwi while waiting for the bus...1 2 3" <Garden of God>Mass  
(Lotte 2011-4-3)

"Teachers always talked about bad things of China in class, don't want to take classes any more...1 2 3"<Garden of God> (Lotte 2011-4-5)

**Adagio:** This post seems to be a happy story. But two mistakes should be pointed out.

1) "In order to increase benefit, the landlords would rather throw away the milk than giving them to poor people." Most of us did learn this lesson in younger ages, but I remembered it referred to US and UK, not New Zealand.

2) "long history of New Zealand" New Zealand doesn't have a long history, especially compared with China.

**Porkpie:** I feel sick at what LZ said.

**Youlv:** It is a good post for people who want to immigrate into New Zealand.

**Accommodation:** "My situation is I couldn't go back China because I have stayed in New Zealand for too long time. I am behind the times in China."  
Exactly the same feeling...

**Triangle:** LZ, the staff of immigration office doesn't look up Skykiwi...

**Song:** Each word of what LZ wrote touched my heart deeply. Hope LZ could have a wonderful time everyday in the country of white clouds...  
C'est la vie~

Good to be with you ~~

**Platonism:** Does LZ say with irony??? Or do I over-estimate you??? Don't be cranky...

**skylaughing:** Everyone has his own process of understanding and he may have different understandings due to different circumstances. So it is natural to have multiculturalism thereby having different way of life. Having different dreams to come to the same land while creating different ways of life, is the happiness of life. LZ just expressed his true feelings. No matter we agree with him or not, we can't

substitute of him or deny him. He could make his dream come true if he works hard. Getting PR is not that difficult. Anyone who is eligible for PR and with real efforts could reach it. The standard of New Zealand PR is not that high compared with other countries. LZ, go after your dream! You may meet different people and hear different words, but you will succeed if you can keep going.

**skylaughing:** “My situation is I couldn’t go back China because I have stayed in New Zealand for too long time. I am behind the times in China.”

Whether you could catch up with times doesn’t depend on where you are. In ancient times, although Zhu Geliang lived in a remote place, he was still able to know the outside world and analyze the situation at that time. Nowadays the influence of location is even less than past.

**londonsky:** what kind of people are these are?

**Adagio:** “Whether you could catch up with times doesn’t depend on where you are. In ancient times, although Zhu Geliang lived in a remote place, he was still able to know the outside world and analyze the situation at that time.

It is impossible not to be influenced by environments. Besides, we are not Zhu Geliang.

**skylaughing:** Information can be shared. If you have the current information and the determination, it will not be a great difference of where you are. You can do many things in New Zealand, which you can’t do in China, and vice versa. Each country has its own features. So you can get happiness everywhere. In a word, both times and locations have relativity. Some people may even think he would be out of times if in China. It is just the different view. I heard a useful sentence in church: stay firm and take action. So it is enough that you just do it and gets it done.

**Meiya:** I think LZ must have nothing else to do.

**Jeffalert:** You can’t stop taking medicine!

**Lastday:** To skylaughing:

It is of course a great difference on where you are, especially the working and study environment.

**Adagio:** “Information can be shared. If you have the current information and the determination, it will not be a great difference of where you are...”

What you said is not wrong. It is just seems that we are talking the different thing.

**Ksblkgu:** “Whether you could catch up with times doesn’t depend on where you are. In ancient times, although Zhu Geliang lived in a remote place, he was still able to know the outside world and analyze the situation at that time.”

The location does have great influence on people!

**Zsy0129:** Since LZ likes here very much, then you should work hard to stay here... come on~~

**Yuguozi:** “zero criminal rate...” - To this point, LZ probably thought too perfectly...

**Hunkou:** LZ, the staff of immigration office doesn’t look up Skykiwi...

**Anna228:** whole of goose bumps...

**Pj\_qd:** “is this the city which has zero criminal rates while called wonderful world?”

Be careful of robbery at night in Auckland.

**XiaoCan:** The first time I heard of New Zealand is just several months before I came here. I always think I was thrown to this country by my Mum.

**Lengyu:** The previous parts are not that relevant. I think LZ's purpose is the last two sentences  
~~ the shining point of whole story~~

**Wuming:** I have to say that LZ is really not a normal person....

**Miwawa:** Really don't know what to say. Where are you from, LZ?

**Hecongcong:** It should be established a Chinese Writers Association and let this LZ be the chair.

**Felixhunter:** "My situation is I couldn't go back China because I have stayed in New Zealand for too long time. I am behind the times in China."

Me too...

**Lvzhou:** nice...

**Ring:** Can't stay here any longer; can't stay here any longer. I will go back China with my boy friend after graduation... Maybe come back NZ when we retire in the future... Powerbill: Until now I just understand why so many people wish going back home after they died. I may getting old myself~

**Xiha:** What is this??? It seems that staff of immigration office will never look up Skykiwi.

**Xiaodangjia:** Finishing looking at the story with patient, and don't know what to say to LZ. I guess it is the explanation of "wuyu" (silent). Want to give LZ some suggestions:

1. Please don't send this post to domestic websites in China, or our New Zealand Chinese will be hurt because of you.
2. If you wish to deep understand your dear pure New Zealand, it is not enough to become kiwi with blond hair and blue eyes. You should say to yourself, "I should become Maori people with strong body, brown skin, and big eyes." After all, it is Maori people who first came here.
3. The description of "the hometown of white clouds" refers to New Zealand, not merely including Auckland. I have been to Auckland for many times and never smelled the flavor of kiwifruit in the air. Your nose must be very different from others!
4. If you still feel excited, you could go and find some medicine. The most disgusting sentence in your post is, "I even couldn't get sleep, worried that I had to fly back to China in case that I didn't wake up when the plane landed. I didn't want to be back again."

I don't want to say anything else after reading the post. Don't dream of something that you can never achieve it.

**Xiaopanger:** First time to hear that someone wants to become an idiot.

**Dengxue:** LZ must have eaten too much on the flight. Ha-ha, it feels like that you are like a purple who is writing a composition which is in the form of "I have a dream that I will become a scientist in the future..." Does Auckland have zero criminal rates? I heard that the robbery always happened. All in all, I have nothing to say now.

**Skylaughing:** Please think carefully your first time when you came to New Zealand. Don't you ever have any similar feeling with LZ? It is natural to change the previous ideas with time passing by. Of course LZ's description has a sense of exaggeration. But we didn't know how much effort he made to come to New Zealand. It is probably his true feelings according to his own experience at that time. Just imagine that perhaps LZ first suffered discrimination from our Chinese community on the internet before he suffered discrimination from other ethnicity...

Please leave LZ enough space and peace for self-esteem!

**(Discussion 5) Crazyshuimo: I want to criticize LH (Chinese butcher shop) at Church Corner; come in please, boss...**  
(2011-5-24 21:48)

I went there to buy the chicken wings and found it not shaved cleanly. I had to do it myself. I considered it as a miss. One week ago, the same chicken wings, unshaved again! Well, let's see it as special occasion. Today my friend went to buy pork and found so much hair when back home, and decided not to go to LH anymore. Well, I first thought those as occasional situations, but they happened again and again. Then they are not occasional, but definite. I have kept shopping in LH since it opened, just due to its cleanness. But now, feel very disappointed! Please pluck the fowl.

**Shot:** Different kinds of hair ~~~~ Fuck~~~

**Triangle:** Please pluck the fowl.

**Catwitch:** It is just ok. The meat bought from the supermarket is almost the same. You have to pluck it yourself at home.

**Komita:** The foreigner's supermarket doesn't shave, either~~Chinese butcher's is much better. It took me much effort to pluck it t at home when I bought it from foreigner's shop in the past.

**David.DS:** Chicken wings in Count Down in much cleaner, but just more expensive.

**Chongchong:** LH is quite good. The boss is nice and the service is good. All the pork hair was cleaned up by fire! The Vicki's (local butcher's) doesn't shave meat as well, all the same! You can have a look at Vicki's! It opens as well!

**Shaoxiangpanda:** I haven't been to LH to buy chicken wings, so don't know the situation. I used to buy it in Pakinsave and found it not shaved, either. I also bought it several times in Count Down. They are very clean but just expensive.

**Wudifycat:** Meat in Count Down is very good, fresh and without sickly smells. The Korean butcher's at Yaldhurst is also very good. The pork rib soup is quite delicious, almost the same as in China.

**P2p:** oh~~unshaved chick

**Felixhunter:** Here the labor is very expensive!!!

**Cylittlefish:** It is all right, at least not all chicken wings have feather, only a few. I think I can accept.

**Yaoxiaohe:** I also think any meat bought from Pakinsave and Count Down all has hair. It is enough for LH to sell fresh meat.

**Amosquito:** I like the pork rib in LH~~~ox tendon is nice, too~

**Zsy0129:** Bro., don't ask for too much. The chicken wings I bought from Pakinsave were not shaved at all...almost can't say a word.

**Adagio:** There should be no clean chicken wings and pork here. They are all delivered from butchery farm directly. There shouldn't be anyone who kills chicken and pig by self.

**Xiaotuoni:** The chicken are all from Tegel~~~

The butcher's only does the cutting work, not killing, let alone shaving work. In fact, you can pluck it by yourself ~~When chicken are killed in Tegel, they have been already sterilized in high temperature. So it is very safe to eat~~ These feathers from fowls are all right, except for a little bit sick while seeing them!

**Shot:** "The chicken are all from Tegel~~~

The butcher's only does the cutting work, not killing, let alone shaving work. In fact, you can

pluck it by yourself ~~When chicken are killed in Tegel, they have been already sterilized in high temperature. So it is very safe to eat~~ these feathers from fowls are all right, except for a little bit sick while seeing them!”

How do you know so much, ~~~Wakaka

**Raindasha:** First I will thank you for your valuable advice on our shop and I owe you an apology.

Indeed, there are problems with chicken feathers and pork hair. For the pork, it is natural to have hair left on; some are clean while others may have much hair. It is all right to ask us to select the hairless ones when purchase, because some clients don't mind the feathers or hair.

It will take too much time and labor if we do the plucking and shaving work. Please also consider our workload, after all we are a small shop and have to reduce cost as much as we can, especially the labor cost. My colleagues and I often don't have time to eat lunch when it is very busy. We have to take care of the clients right away with a few mouthful of bread. If you still require us of plucking each feather, it is an impossible mission.

All the chicken wings are ordered from factory and are already dressed. We don't do the plucking work, so we don't notice the chicken feathers. But today I saw your advice and I will try best to pluck the feathers before putting into the plates. Of course I can't guarantee they are all hairless. But please remind us when you purchase. We are happy to help you deal with the hair or choose ones which you are satisfied.

The words “don't want to go LH anymore” sound very hurting because my colleagues and I have tried our best to meet the clients' need, let alone our warm-hearted boss. Perhaps sometimes we didn't meet your need as we are too busy. I hope our clients can understand us as well.

Besides I want to apology for my personal attitude. I want to say it for a long time but don't have chance. Sometimes it is not because I don't want to smile to the clients but I am just too tired to smile out. Sometimes I may bring the unhappiness mood to my work and the attitude is not right, either. Here I want to say sorry to everyone. I felt regret when I saw clients leave with unhappiness. I will try to adjust my attitude in the future and smile to every client. We also welcome your advices and supervision on our work. We will carefully listen to your advices and provide better services in the future.

I hope this is the reply LZ wanted to get.

**MaxPower:** You've already smiled very much!

**Shot:** Now it is really uneasy for Huaren to do business here~~~~

**Raindasha:** “You've already done your best!”

It is the fact that sometimes I am not so considerable to the clients, hehe...

**Ych100:** I am very curious why LZ is so angry while seeing the post title. I thought it was the problem of reduced quantity and bad attitudes. Then I knew it was the problem of feathers...It is a normal situation here, don't take it too seriously.

Another interesting thing is that the reason I don't want to go to Xiaoquan (another Chinese butcher's at church corner) any longer is because of a staff with bad attitudes all day long.

Later I saw LH opened and went there happily. In the end, I saw the same staff there...

**Attractive\_2004:** The meat from LH is not so bad. Pork from Count Down has much more hair.

**Paojiaomonkey:** Chicken wings from Ry (an unknown butcher's) also have feathers, but very cheap.

**MaxPower:** “Another interesting thing is that the reason I don't want to go to Xiaoquan (another

Chinese butcher's at church corner) any longer is because of a staff with bad attitudes all day long. Later I saw LH opened and went there happily. In the end, I saw the same staff there..."  
Very funny, ha-ha-ha

**LetGo:** LZ, the butcher's usually don't do the plucking work. LH may consider of selling a new serious - special smooth meat; or buy meat get hair clip free~~~

**Lollycake:** Now it is not easy to do a business. Chinese people here should unite.

**Anna228:** We should understand each other...

**Greysbell:** Each butcher's have feathers and hair on...There is no way...

**Yanxiaotang:** Pork in China also has hair. My Mum said the meat here is clean enough.

Last time I had to use my eyebrow clip to pluck pork hair, hurting...

**Dogfish:** Another interesting thing is that the reason I don't want to go to Xiaoquan (another Chinese butcher's at church corner) any longer is because of a staff with bad attitudes all day long. Later I saw LH opened and went there happily. In the end, I saw the same staff there...  
Which staff?? The handsome one?? His attitude is not bad at all...but never over warm-hearted

**Dogfish:** It is normal to have hair on meat~~it is the same in kiwi's shop... I feel the chicken claws are not as clean as those in Xiaoquan... It feels like those chickens have walked for 25000 miles... very dirty... But I can understand. You can find someone to help you wash the claws if you have time. I prefer Xiaoquan to this point...very patient

**Jingling:** I haven't bought the chicken wings, but the pork was very good last time. My husband likes to eat pork very much, so I bought a big piece. I think LH is the cleanest of all. I had to clean myself if I bought meat from kiwi's shop. Last time there were nothing left on the meat in LH, maybe I was just very lucky.

I think the boss and staffs in LH are all very nice, the environment is nice as well, with many choices.

**Shot:** We should support these nice Chinese business men in Christchurch~`~~

**Samchen:** Brother, LH is really a good shop here.

**Godfather\_vip:** Please take out fat oil from the ox tendon. \$15.5/kg, not cheap!

**Ring:** Waiting for the boss to come in.

**MaxPower:** "Waiting for the boss to come in."

Isn't there a representative?

**Momoyu:** Watching; I am the person who don't know the situation.

**Pupucheng:** Where there is competition, there is more benefit for clients. From the aspects of price, service attitude and quality, LH is better than local supermarket, Xiaoquan, Wikis and even butcher's in China. It is impossible to be perfect. What is important is to find the problem and correct it. 水墨 brother advice is benefit for us, as well as for LH butcher's.

**Chimiss:** Looking at LZ's critics and staff's reply, I choose to support LH from this point.

**Zsy0129:** It seems that Xiaoquan's business is not so good now~~ but there mutton is indeed much more expensive than LH...

**Hunkoufan:** Now such critical posts are always finally changed into posts criticize LZ, the world is changed!!!

**Libinghenry:** Many butchers sell meat with hair or feathers... although chicken wings are much cleaner, they are really very expensive. It is all right with hair or feathers. After all they are not dirty things.



**Kaihuaismile:** If you want cheap chicken wings, you have to do the clean work yourself; if you want clean chicken wings, like in Count Down, you will pay more. The expensive one or cheap one, it depends on you. But if you want the cheap and clean ones, it will be very difficult.

**Pupucheng:** “Now such critical posts are always finally changed into posts criticize LZ, the world is changed!!!”

Hi brother, I think this is called fair.

Everyone has the right to express their opinions and I believe they are telling the truth.

Here used to be some critics on restaurants in the past, because many people’s benefits were damaged.

I know staffs of LH myself, but through my frequent purchase. Sometimes if I think the pork ribs are too fat, the boss will cut off the fat parts for me. Sometimes even if they are busy, they will help me to cut off the meat from the bones. I think except for purchase, the more important point is their staffs’ attitudes, responsibilities and honesty.

**Komiko:** The service business is difficult to do...LH does have good service attitudes. I didn’t notice till today that chicken legs from Pakinsave also had feathers. I don’t want to eat even after I plucked them.

**Happyyoume:** LH’s shop is big and comfort so that clients are happy to come. Plus they have good services and quality. So in conclusion, it is the best butcher’s currently—personal view. Hope they can keep on. Don’t lower your quality due to too many praises.

**Fengjuaguo:** The chicken wings from Count Down are very good.

**Littlewawa:** LZ, are you not in the Burger King now? Taking other part time job?

**Cainana:** Chicken wings and pork all have feathers and hair in local supermarket...including Count Down...You can pluck them by yourself before cooking...

**Ivvychen:** I want to say something out of the discussion. On the day when February’s earthquake was over, I went to buy pork rib in LH. When I was just about to leave after paying, the staff put the meat on my hand and said sincerely, ‘wish you safe!’ I felt very warm in heart. From then on I often went to LH..

**Yupibean:** LZ did want to pick out bones from the egg...

**Leimengde:** It is not a restaurant anyway. If you find hair in restaurant, you could refuse to eat. But cooking it at home, it is better to clean it yourself.

**Recoco0910:** I always went to LH...it is natural to have feathers; it will be ok if you can deal with it at home; where else can you buy meat without any hair??? LH’s meat is always very fresh and the staffs’ attitudes are very good as well...supporting...

**Tubobear:** Poor LZ~~~got so many critics~~~ha-ha-ha~~~don’t be sad, having hot pot together next week~~~